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The Cambridge Milton for Schools.

PARADISE LOST

BOOKS IX AND X

*WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, GLOSSARY
AND INDEX*

BY

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NOTE.

MANY of the Scriptural and classical quotations and references given in the *Notes* have been pointed out by previous editors

This volume completes the edition of *Paradise Lost*

A W V

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INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF MILTON

MILTON'S life falls into three clearly defined divisions. The first period ends with the poet's return from Italy in 1639; the second at the Restoration in 1660, when release from the fetters of politics enabled him to remind the world that he was a great poet, if not a great controversialist, the third is brought to a close with his death in 1674. *The first period of his life* *from 1639 to 1660* *his life* *Paradise Lost* belongs to the last of these periods, but we propose to summarise briefly the main events of all three.

John Milton was born on December 9, 1608, in London. He came, in his own words, *ex genere honesto*. *At birth 1608, the family of Miltons had been settled in Oxfordshire since the reign of Elizabeth.* The poet's father had been educated at an Oxford school, possibly as a chorister in one of the College choir-schools, and imbibing Anglican sympathies had conformed to the Established Church. For this he was disinherited by his father. He settled in London, following the profession of scrivener. A scrivener combined the occupations of lawyer and law-stationer. It appears to have been a lucrative calling, certainly John Milton (the poet was named after the father) attained to easy circumstances. He married about 1609, and had six children, of whom several died young. The third child was the poet.

The elder Milton was evidently a man of considerable culture, in particular an accomplished musician, and a com-

poser¹ whose madrigals were deemed worthy of being printed side by side with those of Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and other leading musicians of the time. To him, no doubt, the poet owed the love of music of which we see frequent indications in the poems². Realising, too, that in his son lay the promise and possibility of future greatness, John Milton took the utmost pains to have the boy adequately educated, and the lines *Ad Patrem* show that the ties of affection between father and child were of more than ordinary closeness.

Milton was sent to St Paul's School as a day scholar about the year 1620. He also had a tutor, Thomas *Early training* Young, a Scotchman, who subsequently became Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. More important still, Milton grew up in the stimulating atmosphere of cultured home life. This was a signal advantage. Most men do not realise that the word 'culture' signifies anything very definite or desirable before they pass to the University, for Milton, however, home-life meant, from the first, not only broad interests and refinement, but active encouragement towards literature and study. In 1625 he left St Paul's. He was not a precocious genius, a 'boy poet,' like Chatterton or Shelley. Of his extant English poems³ only one, *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, was written in his school-days. But his early training had done that which was all-important: it had laid the foundation of the far-ranging knowledge which makes *Paradise Lost* unique for diversity of suggestion and interest.

Milton entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, commencing residence in the Easter term of 1625. Seven years *At Cambridge* were spent at the University. He took his B.A. degree in 1629, proceeded M.A. in 1632, and in the latter year

¹ See the article on him in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*.

² Milton was very fond of the organ, see *Il Penseroso*, 161, note. During his residence at Horton Milton made occasional journeys to London to hear, and obtain instruction in, music.

³ His paraphrases of *Psalms* cxiv, cxxxv, scarcely come under this heading.

left Cambridge His experience of University life had not been wholly fortunate He was, and felt himself to be, out of sympathy with his surroundings, and whenever in after-years he spoke of Cambridge¹ it was with something of the grave *impictas* of Gibbon who, unsoftened even by memories of Magdalen, complained that the fourteen months spent at Oxford were the least profitable part of his life Milton, in fact, anticipates the laments that we find in the correspondence of Gray, addressed sometimes to Richard West and reverberated from the banks of the Isis It may, however, be fairly assumed that, whether consciously or not, Milton owed a good deal to his University, and it must not be forgotten that the uncomplimentary and oft-quoted allusions to Cambridge date for the most part from the unhappy period when Milton the politician and polemical dogmatist had effectually divorced himself at once from Milton the scholar and Milton the poet. A poet he had proved himself before leaving the University The short but exquisite ode *At a Solemn Music*, and the *Nativity Hymn* (1629), were already written

¹ That Milton's feeling towards the authorities of his own college was not entirely unfriendly would appear from the following sentences written in 1642 He takes, he says, the opportunity to "acknowledge publicly, with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary respect which I found, above many of my equals, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellows of that college wherein I spent some years, who, at my parting after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay, as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me"—*Apology for Smectymnus*, *P W* III 311 Perhaps it would have been better for Milton had he been sent to Emmanuel College, long a stronghold of Puritanism Dr John Preston, the master of the college at that time, was a noted leader of the Puritan party. (Throughout this *Introduction* Milton's prose-works, in Bohn's edition, are referred to under the abbreviation *P W*)

Milton's father had settled¹ at Horton in Buckinghamshire Thither the son retired in July, 1632 He had gone to Cambridge with the intention of qualifying for some profession, perhaps the Church² This purpose was soon given up, and when Milton returned to his father's house he seems to have made up his mind that there was no profession which he cared to enter He would choose the better part of studying and preparing himself, by rigorous self-discipline and application, for the far-off divine event to which his whole life moved

It was Milton's constant resolve to achieve something that should vindicate the ways of God to men, something great³ that should justify his own possession of unique powers—powers of which, with no trace of egotism, he proclaims himself proudly conscious The feeling finds repeated expression in his prose, it is the guiding-star that shines clear and steadfast even through the mists of politics He has a mission to fulfil, a purpose to accomplish, no less

¹ As tenant of the Earl of Bridgewater, according to one account, but probably the tradition arose from Milton's subsequent connection with the Bridgewater family

² Cf Milton's own words, "The Church, to whose service by the intention of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in my own resolutions" What kept him from taking orders was not, at first, any difference of belief, but solely his objection to Church discipline and government "Coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave (I) thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing"—*Reason of Church Government*, P II ii 482 Milton disliked in particular the episcopal system, and spoke of himself as "Church outed by the prelates"

³ Cf the second sonnet, "How soon hath Time" Ten years later (1641) Milton speaks of the "inward prompting which grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die"—*Reason of Church Government*, P II ii 477, 478

than the most fanatic of religious enthusiasts, and the means whereby this end is to be attained are fourfold—devotion to learning, devotion to religion, ascetic purity of life, and the pursuit of *σπουδαιότης* or “excellent seriousness” of thought.

This period of self-centred isolation lasted from 1632 to 1638. Gibbon tells us among the many wise things contained in that most wise book the *Autobiography*, that every man has two educations—that which he receives from his teachers and that which he owes to himself, the latter being infinitely the more important. During these five years Milton completed his second education, ranging the whole world of classical¹ antiquity and absorbing the classical genius so thoroughly that the ancients were to him what they afterwards became to Landor, what they have never become to any other English poet in the same degree, even as the very breath of his being, learning, too, all of art, especially music, that contemporary England could furnish, wresting from modern literatures² (especially Italian) their last secrets, and combining these vast and diverse influences into a splendid equipment of hard-won, well-ordered culture. The world has known many greater scholars in the technical, limited sense than Milton, but few men, if any, who have mastered more things worth mastering in art, letters and scholarship³. It says much for the poet that he was sustained through this period of study, pursued *ohne Hast, ohne Rast*, by the full consciousness that all would be crowned by a masterpiece which should add one more testimony to the belief in that God who ordains the fates of men. It says also a very great deal for the father who suffered his son to follow in this manner the path of learning².

¹ He was closely familiar too with post-classical writers like Philo and the neo-Platonists, nor must we forget the mediæval element in his learning (see *Appendix passim*), due often to Rabbinical teaching.

² See pp li—liii.

³ Milton's poems with their undercurrent of perpetual allusion are the best proof of the width of his reading, but interesting supplementary evidence is afforded by the commonplace book discovered in 1874, and printed by the *Camden Society*, 1876. It contains extracts from about 80 different authors whose works Milton had studied.

True, Milton gave more than one earnest of his future fame. The dates of the early pieces—*L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Arcades*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*—are not all certain, but probably each was composed at Horton before 1638. We have spoken of them elsewhere. Here we may note that four of them have great autobiographic value as an indirect commentary, written from Milton's coign of seclusion, upon the moral crisis through which English life and thought were passing, the clash between the careless hedonism of the Cavalier world and the deepening austerity of Puritanism. In *L'Allegro* the poet holds the balance almost equal between the two opposing tendencies. In *Il Penseroso* it becomes clear to which side his sympathies are leaning. *Comus* is a covert prophecy of the downfall of the Court party, while *Lycidas* openly "foretells the ruine" of the Established Church. The latter poem is the final utterance of Milton's lyric genius. Here he reaches, in Mr Mark Pattison's words, the high-water mark of English verse, and then—the pity of it—he resigns that place among the *lyrici vates* of which the Roman singer was ambitious, and for nearly twenty years suffers his lyre to hang mute and rusty in the temple of the Muses.

The composition of *Lycidas* may be assigned to the year 1637. In the spring of the next year Milton started for Italy. He had long made himself a master of Italian, and it was natural that he should seek inspiration in the land where many English poets, from Chaucer to Shelley, have found it. Milton remained abroad some fifteen months. Originally he had intended to include Sicily and Greece in his travels, but news of the troubles in England hastened his return. He was brought face to face with the question whether or not he should bear his part in the coming struggle, whether without self-reproach he could lead any longer this life of learning and indifference to the public weal. He decided as we might have expected that he would decide, though some good critics see cause to regret the decision. Milton puts his

Milton's lyric
verse, its rela-
tion to contem-
porary life

Travels in
Italy, close of
the first period
in his life

Cause of his
return to Eng-
land

position very clearly "I considered it," he says, "dishonourable to be enjoying myself at my ease in foreign lands, while my countrymen were striking a blow for freedom" And again "Perceiving that the true way to liberty followed on from these beginnings, inasmuch also as I had so prepared myself from my youth that, above all things, I could not be ignorant what is of Divine and what of human right, I resolved, though I was then meditating certain other matters, to transfer into this struggle all my genius and all the strength of my industry"

The summer of 1639 (July) found Milton back in England. Immediately after his return he wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis*, the beautiful elegy in which he lamented the death of his school friend, Diodati. *Lycidas* was the last of the English lyrics the *Epitaphium*, which should be studied in close connection with *Lycidas*, the last of the long Latin poems. Thenceforth, for a long spell, the rest was silence, so far as concerned poetry. The period which for all men represents the strength and maturity of manhood, which in the cases of other poets produces the best and most characteristic work, is with Milton a blank. In twenty years he composed no more than a bare handful of Sonnets, and even some of these are infected by the taint of political animus. Other interests¹ filled his thoughts—the question of Church-reform, education, marriage, and, above all, politics.

The second period, 1640—1660 Milton abandons poetry

Milton's first treatise upon the government of the Established Church (*Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England*) appeared in 1641. Others followed in quick succession. The abolition of Episcopacy was the watch-word of the enemies of the Anglican Church—the *delenda est Carthago* cry of Puritanism, and no one enforced the point with greater eloquence than Milton. During 1641 and 1642 he wrote five pamphlets on the subject. Meanwhile he was studying the principles of education. On his return from Italy he had undertaken the training of his nephews

Pamphlets on the Church and Education

¹ Milton seems to have cherished some hope of beginning a great poem as late as 1641—2, probably the latter year marked his final surrender of the scheme

This led to consideration of the best educational methods, and in the *Tractate of Education*, 1644, Milton assumed the part of educational theorist. In the previous year, May, 1643, he married¹. The marriage proved unfortunate. Its immediate outcome was the pamphlets on Divorce. Clearly he had little leisure for literature proper.

The finest of Milton's prose works, the *Areopagitica*, a plea for the free expression of opinion, was published in 1644. In 1645² he edited the first collection of his poems. In 1649 his advocacy of the anti-royalist cause was recognised by the offer of a post under the newly appointed Council of State. His bold vindication of the trial of Charles I, *The Tenure of Kings*, had appeared

¹ His wife (who was only seventeen) was Mary Powell, eldest daughter of Richard Powell, of Forest Hill, a village some little distance from Oxford. She went to stay with her father in July 1643, and refused to return to Milton, why, it is not certain. She was reconciled to her husband in 1645, bore him four children, and died in 1652, in her twenty-seventh year. No doubt, the scene in *P L* x 909—936, in which Eve begs forgiveness of Adam, reproduced the poet's personal experience, while many passages in *Samson Agonistes* must have been inspired by the same cause.

² i.e. old style. The volume was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of October 6th, 1645. It was published on Jan. 2, 1645—6, with the following title page:

"*Poems of Mr John Milton, both English and Latin, compos'd at several times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's Chappel, and one of His Majesties private Musick*

'———Baccare frontem

Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro' VIRG. *Ecl.* 7

Printed and publish'd according to Order. London, Printed by Ruth Raworth, for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in Pauls Churchyard. 1645."

From the prefatory Address to the Reader it is clear that the collection was due to the initiative of the publisher. Milton's own feeling is expressed by the motto, where the words "*vati futuro*" show that, as

earlier in the same year Milton accepted the offer, becoming Latin¹ Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. There was nothing distasteful about his duties. He drew up the despatches to foreign governments, translated state-papers, and served as interpreter to foreign envoys. Had his duties stopped here his acceptance of the post would, I think, have proved an unqualified gain. It brought him into contact with the first men in the state², gave him a practical insight *The advantage of the post* into the working of national affairs and the motives of human action, in a word, furnished him with that experience of life which is essential to all poets who aspire to be something more than "the idle singers of an empty day." But unfortunately the secretaryship entailed the necessity of *Its disadvantage* defending at every turn the past course of the revolution and the present policy of the Council. Milton, in fact, held a perpetual brief as advocate for his party. Hence the endless and unedifying controversies into which he drifted, controversies which wasted the most precious years of his life, warped, as some critics think, his nature, and eventually cost him his eyesight.

Between 1649 and 1660 Milton produced no less than eleven pamphlets. Several of these arose out of the publication of the famous *Eikon Basilike*. The book *Milton's writings on behalf of the Commonwealth* was printed in 1649 and created so extraordinary a

he judged, his great achievement was yet to come. The volume was divided into two parts, the first containing the English, the second the Latin poems. *Comus* was printed at the close of the former, with a separate title-page to mark its importance.

¹ A Latin Secretary was required because the Council scorned, as Edward Phillips says, "to carry on their affairs in the wheedling, lispng jargon of the cringing French." Milton's salary was £288, in modern money about £900.

² There is no proof that Milton ever had personal intercourse with Cromwell, and Mr Mark Pattison implies that he was altogether neglected by the foremost men of the time. Yet it seems unlikely that the Secretary of the Committee should not have been on friendly terms with some of its members, Vane, for example, and Whitelocke.

sensation that Milton was asked to reply to it. This he did with *Esterchilastes* introducing the wholly unworthy sneer at Sidney's *Arcadia* and the awkwardly expressed reference to Shakespeare¹. Controversy of this barren type has the inherent disadvantage that once started it may never end. The Royalists commissioned the Leyden professor, Salmasius, to prepare a counterblast, the *Defensio Regia*, and this in turn was met by Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651.

His blindness over the preparation of which he lost what little power of eyesight remained². Salmasius retorted, and died before his second *farrago* of scurrilities was issued. Milton was bound to answer and the *Defensio Secunda* appeared in 1652. Neither of the combatants gained anything by the dispute, while the subsequent development of the

¹ See *L. Ailegre*, 132 note. It would have been more to the point to remind his readers that the imprisoned king must have spent a good many hours over La Calprenède's *Cavalier's* etc.

² Perhaps this was the saddest part of the episode. Milton tells us in the *Defensio Secunda* that his eyesight was injured by excessive study in boyhood: "from the twelfth year of my age I scarce ever left my lessons and went to bed before midnight. Thus was the first cause of my blindness. Continual reading and writing must have increased the infirmity and by 1650 the sight of the left eye had gone. He was warned that he must not use the other for book-work. Unfortunately this was just the time when the Commonwealth stood most in need of his services. If Milton had not written the first *Defensio* he might have retained his partial vision. The choice lay between private good and public duty. He repeated in 1650 the sacrifice of 1639. "In such a case I could not listen to the physician, not if Asclepiades himself had spoken from his sanctuary; I could not but obey that inward monitor, I know not what, that spoke to me from heaven. I concluded to employ the little remaining eyesight I was to enjoy in doing this, the greatest service to the commonwealth was in my power to render (*Second Defence*). By the Spring of 1652 Milton was quite blind. He was then in his forty-fourth year. Probably the disease from which he suffered was amaurosis. See the *Appendix* (pp. 120-121) on *P. L.* III. 22-26. Throughout *P. L.* and *Samson Agonistes* there are frequent references to his affliction.

controversy in which Milton crushed the Amsterdam pastor and professor, Morus, goes far to prove the contention of Mr Mark Pattison, that it was an evil day when the poet left his study at Horton to do battle for the Commonwealth amid the vulgar brawls of the market-place

“Not here, O Apollo,
Were haunts meet for thee”

Fortunately this poetic interregnum in Milton's life was not destined to last much longer. The Restoration came, a blessing in disguise, and in 1660¹ the ruin of Milton's political² party and of his personal hopes, the absolute overthrow of the cause for which he had fought for twenty years, left him free. The author of *Lycidas* could once more become a poet.

The Restoration releases Milton from politics. Return to poetry

Much has been written upon this second period, 1639—1660, and a word may be said here. We saw what parting of the ways confronted Milton on his return from Italy. Did he choose aright? Should he have continued upon the path of learned leisure? There are writers who argue that Milton made a mistake. A poet, they say, should keep clear of political strife; fierce controversy can benefit no man who touches pitch must expect to be, certainly will be, defiled. Milton sacrificed twenty of the best years of his life, doing work which an underling could have done and which was not worth doing. Another *Comus* might have been written, a loftier *Lycidas*; that literature should be the poorer by the absence of these possible masterpieces, that the second greatest genius which England has produced should in a way be the “inheritor of unfulfilled renown,” is and must be a thing entirely and terribly deplorable. This is the view of the purely literary critic. Mr Mark Pattison writes very much to this effect.

Should Milton have kept apart from political life?

One reply to this question

¹ The date 1660 must not be pressed too closely. As a matter of strict detail, Milton probably began *Paradise Lost* in 1658, but it was not till the Restoration in 1660 that he definitely resigned all his political hopes, and became quite free to realise his poetical ambition.

² The changes in his political views cannot be traced here.

There remains the other side of the question. It may fairly be contended that had Milton elected in 1639 to live the scholar's life apart from "the action of men," *Paradise Lost*, as we have it, could never have been written¹. Knowledge of life and human nature, insight into the problems of men's motives and emotions, grasp of the broader issues of the human tragedy, all these were essential to the author of an epic poem, they could only be obtained through commerce with the world, they would have remained beyond the reach of a recluse. Dryden complained that Milton saw nature through the spectacles of books we might have had to complain that he saw men through the same medium. Fortunately it is not so and it is not so because at the age of thirty-two he threw in his fortunes with those of his country, like the diver in Schiller's ballad he took the plunge which was to cost him so dear. The mere man of letters will never move the world. Æschylus fought at Marathon. Shakespeare was practical to the tips of his fingers, a better business man than Goethe there was not within a radius of a hundred miles of Weimar.

This aspect of the question is emphasised by Milton himself. *Milton's own opinion* The man, he says, "who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things, *not² presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have within himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy*" Again, in estimating the qualifications which the writer of an epic such as he contemplated should possess, he is careful to include "insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs³."

How politics may have influenced the poet Truth usually lies half-way between extremes perhaps it does so here. No doubt, Milton did gain very greatly by breathing awhile the larger air of public life, even though that air was often tainted by

¹ This is true of *Samson Agonistes* too

² The italics are mine

³ *Reason of Church Government*, P. IV II 481

much impurity. No doubt, too, twenty years of contention must have left their mark even on Milton. In one of the very few places¹ where he "abides our question," Shakespeare writes

O! for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide,
Than public means, which public manners breeds
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand;
And almost thence my nature is subdu'd
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand

Milton's genius was subdued in this way. If we compare him, the Milton of the great epics and of *Samson Agonistes*, with Homer or Shakespeare—and none but the greatest can be his parallel—we find in him a certain want of humanity, a touch of narrowness. He lacks the large-heartedness, the genial, generous breadth of Shakespeare, the sympathy and sense of the *lacrimæ rerum* that even in *Troilus and Cressida* or *Timon of Athens* are there for those who have eyes wherewith to see them. Milton reflects many of the less gracious aspects of Puritanism, its intolerance, want of humour, one-sided intensity. He is stern, unbending, austere, and it seems natural to assume that this narrowness was to a great extent the price he paid for twenty years of ceaseless special pleading and dispute. The real misfortune of his life lay in the fact that he fell on evil, angry days when there was no place for moderate men. He had to be one of two things: either a controversialist or a student: there was no *via media*. Probably he chose aright, but we could wish that the conditions under which he chose had been different.

The last part of Milton's life, 1660—1674, passed quietly. At the age of fifty-two he was thrown back upon poetry, and could at length discharge his self-imposed obligation. The early poems he had never regarded as a fulfilment of the debt due to his Creator.

From the Restoration to Milton's death

¹ *Sonnet CXL.*

Even when the fire of political strife burned at its hottest, Milton did not forget the purpose which he had conceived in his boyhood. Of that purpose *Paradise Lost* was the attainment. We trace its history later on. At present it suffices to observe that the poem was begun about 1658, was finished in 1663, the year of Milton's third¹ marriage, revised from 1663 to 1665, and eventually issued in 1667. Before its publication Milton had commenced (in the autumn of 1665) its sequel *Paradise Regained*, which in turn was closely followed by *Samson Agonistes*. The completion of *Paradise Regained* may be assigned to the year 1666—that of *Samson Agonistes* to 1667. Some time was spent in their revision, and in January, 1671, they were published together, in a single volume.

In 1673 Milton brought out a reprint of the 1645 edition of *Close of Mil* his *Poems*, adding most of the sonnets written in *ton's life* the interval. The last four years of his life were

¹ Milton's second marriage took place in the autumn of 1656, i.e. after he had become blind. His wife died in February, 1658. Cf. the *Sonnet*, "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," the pathos of which is heightened by the fact that he had never seen her.

² The number of Milton's sonnets is twenty three (if we exclude the piece on "The New Forcers of Conscience"), five of which were written in Italian, probably during the time of his travels in Italy, 1638—9. Ten sonnets were printed in the edition of 1645, the last of them being that entitled (from the *Cambridge MS*) "To the Lady Margaret Ley." The remaining thirteen were composed between 1645 and 1658. The concluding sonnet, therefore (to the memory of Milton's second wife), immediately preceded his commencement of *Paradise Lost*. Four of these poems (XV XVI XVII XXII) could not, on account of their political tone, be included in the edition of 1673. They were first published by Edward Phillips together with his memoir of Milton, 1694. The sonnet on the "Massacre in Piedmont" is usually considered the finest of the collection, of which the late Rector of Lincoln College edited a well known edition, 1883. The sonnet inscribed with a diamond on a window pane in the cottage at Chalfont where the poet stayed in 1665 is (in the judgment of a good critic) Miltonic, if not Milton's (Garnett's *Life of Milton*, p. 175).

devoted to prose works of no particular interest to us¹ He continued to live in London His third marriage had proved happy, and he enjoyed something of the renown which was rightly his Various well-known men used to visit him—notably Dryden², who on one of his visits asked and received permission to dramatise³ *Paradise Lost* It does not often happen that a university can point to two such poets among her living sons, each without rival in his generation

Milton died in 1674, November 8th He was buried in St Giles' Church, Cripplegate When we think of him we have to think of a man who lived a life of very *His death* singular purity and devotion to duty, who for what he conceived to be his country's good sacrificed—and no one can well estimate the sacrifice—during twenty years the aim that was nearest to his heart and best suited to his genius, who, however, eventually realised his desire of writing a great work *in gloriam Dei*

¹ The treatise on *Christian Doctrine* is valuable as throwing much light on the theological views expressed in the two epic poems and *Samson Agonistes* The discovery of the MS of this treatise in 1823 gave Macaulay an opportunity of writing his famous essay on Milton

² The lines by Dryden which were printed beneath the portrait of Milton in Tonson's folio edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 1688 are too familiar to need quotation, but it is worth noting that the younger poet had in Milton's lifetime described the great epic as "one of the most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced" (prefatory essay to *The State of Innocence*, 1674) Further, tradition assigned to Dryden (a Roman Catholic and a Royalist) the remark, "this fellow (Milton) cuts us all out and the ancients too"

³ See Marvell's "Commendatory Verses," 17—22, prefixed to the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, and the *Notes*, bks 1, II, pp 72, 73

PARADISE LOST

We have observed that the dominating idea of Milton's life was his resolve to write a great poem—great in theme, in style, in attainment. To this purpose was he dedicated as a boy as Hannibal was dedicated, at the altar of patriotism, to the cause of his country's revenge, or Pitt to a life of political ambition. Milton's works—particularly his letters and prose pamphlets—enable us to trace the growth of the idea which was shaping his intellectual destinies, and as every poet is best interpreted by his own words, Milton shall speak for himself.

Two of the earliest indications of his cherished plan are the *Vacation Exercise* and the second *Sonnet*. The *Exercise* commences with an invocation (not without significance, as we shall see) to his "native language," to assist him in giving utterance to the teeming thoughts that knock at the portal of his lips, fain to find an issue thence. The bent of these thoughts is towards the loftiest themes. Might he choose for himself, he would select some "grave subject."

Early indications of Milton's resolve to compose a great work

"Such where the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blissful deity

Then sing of secret things that came to pass
While beldam Nature in her cradle was "

But recognising soon that such matters are inappropriate to the occasion—a College festivity—he arrests the flight of his muse with a humorous *descende caelo*, and declines on a lower range of subject, more fitting to the social scene and the audience. This *Exercise* was composed in 1628, in Milton's twentieth year, or, according to his method of dating, *anno ætatis* XIV. It is important as revealing—firstly, the poet's consciousness of the divine impulse within, for which poetry is the natural outlet,

secondly, the elevation of theme with which that poetry must deal. A boy in years, he would like to handle the highest 'arguments,' challenging thereby comparison with the *sacri vates* of inspired verse, the elect few whose poetic appeal is to the whole world. A vision of Heaven itself must be unrolled before his steadfast eagle gaze he will win a knowledge of the causes of things such as even Vergil, his master, modestly disclaimed. Little wonder, therefore, that, filled with these ambitions, Milton did not shrink, only two years later (1629—30), from attempting to sound the deepest mysteries of Christianity—the Nativity and the Passion of Christ, howbeit, sensible of his immaturity, he left his poem on the latter subject unfinished¹

The *Sonnet* to which reference has been made deserves quotation at length

“How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
 Stolen on his wing my three and-twentieth year!
 My hasting days fly on with full career,
 But my late spring no bud or blossom sheweth
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth
 That I to manhood am arrived so near,
 And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
 That some more timely-happy spirits endueth
 Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow,
 It shall be still in strictest measure even
 To that same lot, however mean or high,
 Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven,
 All is, if I have grace to use it so,
 As ever in my great Task-Master's eye ”

¹ A passage in the sixth *Elegy* shows that the *Nativity Ode* (see Pitt Press ed pp xxiv, xxv) was begun on Christmas morning, 1629. The *Passion* may have been composed for the following Easter, it breaks off with the notice—“This subject the Author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished.” Evidently Milton was minded to recur to both subjects, the list of schemes in the Trinity MS has the entries “Christ born, Christ bound, Christ crucified ”

Mr Mark Pattison justly calls these lines "an inseparable part of Milton's biography" they bring out so clearly the poet's solemn devotion to his self-selected task, and his determination not to essay the execution of that task until the time of complete "inward ripeness" has arrived. The *Sonnet* was one of the last poems composed by Milton during his residence at Cambridge. The date is 1631. From 1632 to 1638 was a period of almost unbroken self-preparation, such as the *Sonnet* foreshadows. Of the intensity of his application to literature a letter written in 1637 (the exact day being Sept 7, 1637) enables us to judge.

Self preparation for his project, shown in his letters

"It is my way," he says to Carlo Diodati, in excuse for remissness as a correspondent, "to suffer no impediment, no love of ease, no avocation whatever, to chill the ardour, to break the continuity, or divert the completion of my literary pursuits. From this and no other reasons it often happens that I do not readily employ my pen in any gratuitous exertions¹" But these exertions were not sufficient the probation must last longer. In the same month, on the 23rd, he writes to the same friend, who had made enquiry as to his occupations and plans "I am sure that you wish me to gratify your curiosity, and to let you know what I have been doing, or am meditating to do. Hear me, my Diodati, and suffer me for a moment to speak, without blushing, in a more lofty strain. Do you ask what I am meditating? By the help of Heaven, an immortality of fame. But what am I doing? *πτεροφύω*, I am letting my wings grow and preparing to fly, but my Pegasus has not yet feathers enough to soar aloft in the fields of air²" Four years later we find a similar admission—"I have not yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies³"

Encouraged by friends in Italy and at home

This last sentence was written in 1640 (or 1641) Meanwhile his resolution had been confirmed by the friendly and flattering encouragement of

¹ *P W* III 492

² *P W* III 495

³ *P W* II 476

Italian *sermons*—a stimulus which he records in an oft-cited passage¹

"In the private academies² of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles³ which I had in memory, composed not under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what was looked for, and other things⁴, which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to pitch up among them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side of the Alps; I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die"

It was during this Italian journey (1638—39) that Milton first gave a hint of the particular direction in which this ambition was setting—at least we are vouchsafed a glimpse of the possible subject-matter of the contemplated poem, and there is that on which may be built conjecture as to its style. He had enjoyed at Naples the hospitality of the then famous writer Giovanni Battista Manso, whose courteous reception the young English traveller, *ut ne ingratum se ostenderet*, acknowledged in

*First croice of
a subject the
Arthurian le-
gend date 1638
—1639*

¹ *Chapel Government*, P. IV. ii. 477, 478, a few lines have been quoted in the *Life* of Milton

² He refers to literary societies or clubs, of which there were several at Florence, e.g. the Della Crusca, the Svogliati, etc.

³ i.e. Latin pieces, the *Epigrams*, as well as some of the poems included in his *Sylva*, were written before he was twenty one

⁴ Among the Latin poems which date from his Italian journey are the lines *Ad Saturnum*, a few of the *Epigrams*, and *Mansus*. Perhaps, too, the "other things" comprehended those essays in Italian verse which he had the courage to read before a Florentine audience—and they the indulgence to praise

the piece of Latin hexameters afterwards printed in his *Sylvæ* under the title *Mansus*. In the course of the poem Milton definitely speaks of the remote legends of British history—more especially, the Arthurian legend—as the theme which he might some day treat. “May I,” he says, “find such a friend¹ as Manso,”

*Siquando² indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ
Magnanimos Heroas, et—O modo spiritus adsit—
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Maste phalanges!*

This was in 1638. In the next year, after his return to England, he recurs to the project in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, his account being far more detailed

*Ipse³ ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogenæ,*

¹ i.e. a friend who would pay honour to him as Manso had paid honour to the poet Marini. Manso had helped in the erection of a monument to Marini at Naples, and Milton alludes to this at the beginning of the poem.

² “If ever I shall revive in verse our native kings, and Arthur levying war in the world below, or tell of the heroic company of the resistless Table Round, and—be the inspiration mine!—break the Saxon bands neath the might of British chivalry.”

³ “I will tell of the Trojan fleet sailing our southern seas, and the ancient realm of Imogen, Pandrasus’ daughter, and of Brennus, Arviragus, and Belinus old, and the Armoric settlers subject to British laws. Then will I sing of Iogerne, fatally pregnant with Arthur—how Uther feigned the features and assumed the armour of Gorlois, through Merlin’s craft. And you, my pastoral pipe, an life be lent me, shall hang on some sere pine, forgotten of me, or changed to native notes shall shrill forth British strains.” In the first lines he alludes to the legend of Brutus and the Trojans landing in England. *Rutupina* = Kentish. The story of Arthur’s birth at which he glances is referred to in the *Idylls of the King*. The general drift of the last verses is that he will give up Latin for English verse, *strides* is a future, from *strido* (cf. *Æneid* iv 689).

his ambition to take rank as a great national poet The note struck is patriotism He will produce that which shall set English on a level with the more favoured Italian, and give his countrymen cause to be proud of their

“dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world¹”

To us indeed it may appear strange that Milton should have thought it worth while to emphasise what would now be considered a self-evident necessity what modern poet, with a serious conception of his office and duty, would dream of employing any other language than his own? But we must remember that in those days the empire of the classics was unquestioned scholarship was accorded a higher dignity than now the composition of long poems in Latin was still a custom honoured in the observance and whoso sought to appeal to the “laureate fraternity” of scholars and men of letters, independently of race and country, would naturally turn to the *lingua franca* of the learned At any rate, the use of English—less known than either Italian or French—placed a poet at a great disadvantage, so far as concerned acceptance in foreign lands, and when Milton determined to rely on his *patriæ Camænæ*, he foresaw that this would circumscribe his audience, and that he would have to rest content with the applause of his own countrymen, nor ever, as he phrases it, “be once named abroad” And there is some significance in the occasion when he made this declaration Up till the publication of the *Epitaphium* his friends had known him—to the public he was not even a name—as the composer of a number of pieces of elegiacs not unworthy, at times, of Ovid, and of some almost Vergilian hexameters

Milton abandons Latin verse

hopes he had of returning to poetry, what was his view of the poet's mission and of his own capacity to discharge that mission His prose-works contain nothing more valuable than these ten pages of self-criticism

¹ *Richard II* II I 57, 58

Of his English poems only three¹ had been published—each anonymously. It might have been supposed that residence in Italy, the home of Latin scholarship, would incline him to continue to seek fame as a master of Latinity. yet, as if to dispel this impression, he announces straightway after his return ^{His desire to be regarded as a national poet} that he intends to discard the rôle of mere scholar, and assume that of national poet.

Again, these lines in the *Epitaphium* give us some grounds of surmise as to the proposed form of his poem. The historic events—or traditions—epitomised in the passage were too far separated in point of time, and too devoid of internal coherence and connexion, to admit of ^{The seem to be an epic} dramatic treatment. Milton evidently contemplated a narrative poem, and for one who had drunk so deep of the classical spirit a narrative could scarce have meant aught else than an epic. Indeed thus much is implied by some sentences in the *Reason of Church Government*, which represent him as considering whether to attempt that “epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a model. or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation²”

But ‘dramatic’ introduces a fresh phase, and as the first period of the history of *Paradise Lost*, or rather of the idea which finally took shape in that poem, ^{Summary of impressions} closes with the *Epitaphium* (1639), it may not be

¹ These were the lines on Shakespeare, unsigned and lost among the commendatory verses prefixed to the second Folio of Shakespeare, 1632; *Comus*, issued by his friend Henry Lawes in 1634, without any name on the title page, and *Lycidas*, printed in a volume scarce likely to circulate outside Cambridge, and only signed with the initials ‘J M’. To these might be added a fourth piece in the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, could we verify the tradition mentioned by Warton that it was originally published in a Cambridge collection of Elegiac verse, about 1631. (I have discussed this point in the *Introduction to Lycidas*, pp xi—xli.)

² P W II 478, 479

right of kings," and embodying in the character of the blameless monarch the Cavalier conception of Charles I. Be this as it may, Milton rejected the subject, and it finds no place in a list of one hundred possible subjects of his poem¹

Secondly, from this period, 1640—1642, dates an alteration in the design of the contemplated work. Hitherto his tendency has been towards the epic form. Now (1640 or 1641) we find him preferring the dramatic. Shall he imitate Sophocles and Euripides? Shall he transplant to English soil the art of the "lofty grave tragedians" of Greece? The question is answered in a decided affirmative. Had Milton continued the poem of which the opening lines were written in 1642 we should have had—not an epic but—a drama, or possibly a trilogy of dramas, cast in a particular manner, as will be observed presently. This transference of his inclinations from the epic to the dramatic style appears to date from 1641. It is manifested in the Milton MSS at Trinity College. Of these a word must be said.

Change of style the poem to be—not an epic but—a drama

When the present library of Trinity College, the erection of which was begun during the Mastership of Isaac Barrow, was completed, one of its earliest benefactors was a former member of Trinity, Sir Henry Newton Puckering. Among his gifts was a thin MS volume of fifty-four pages, which had served Milton as a commonplace book. How it came into the possession of Sir Henry Puckering is not known. He was contemporary with, though junior to, Milton, and may possibly have been one of the admirers who visited the poet in the closing years of his life, and discharged the office of amanuensis, or perhaps there was some family connection by means of which the MS passed into his hands. But if the history of the book be obscure, its value is not, for it contains—now in Milton's autograph, now in strange, unidenti-

The Milton MSS at Cambridge

¹ Perhaps he was influenced by discovering, after fuller research, the mythical character of the legend. So much is rather implied by some remarks in his *History of Britain*. Milton with his intense earnestness was not the poet to build a long work on what he had found to be mainly fiction.

fied handwritings—the original drafts of several of his early poems notably of *Arcades*, *Lycidas* and *Comus*, together with many of the *Sonnets*. The volume, be it observed, is not (as might be inferred from some descriptions thereof) a random collection of scattered papers bound together after Milton's death: it exists (apart from its sumptuous modern investiture) exactly in the same form as that wherein Milton knew and used it two centuries and a half ago. And this point is important because the order of the pages, and, by consequence, of their contents, is an index to the order of the composition of the poems. Milton, about the year 1631, had had the sheets of paper stitched together and then worked through the little volume, page on page, inserting his pieces as they were written. They cover a long period, from 1631 to 1658: the earlier date being marked by the second *Sonnet*, the later by the last of the series—"Methought I saw." It is rather more than half way through the MS. that we light on the entries which have so direct a bearing on the history of *Paradise Lost*.

These are notes, written by Milton himself (probably in 1641), and occupying seven pages of the manuscript, on subjects which seemed to him suitable, in varying degrees of appropriateness, for his poem. Some of the entries are very brief—concise jottings down, in two or three words, of any theme that struck him. Others are more detailed: the salient features of some episode in history are selected, and a sketch of the best method of treating them added. In a few instances these sketches are filled in with much minuteness and care: the 'economy' or arrangement of the poem is marked out—the action traced from point to point. But, *Paradise Lost* apart, this has been done in only a few cases—a half dozen, at most. As a rule, the source whence the material of the work might be drawn, is indicated. The subjects themselves, numbering just one hundred, fall, in a rough classification, under two headings—Scriptural and British¹ and by 'British' are meant those which Milton drew from the chronicles of British history prior to the Norman Conquest. The former

¹ Cf. the reference to "our own ancient stories," *Church Gov.* 11

are the more numerous class sixty-two being derived from the Bible, of which the Old Testament claims fifty-four Their character will be best illustrated by quotation of a few typical examples

Abram in Egypt .
Josuah, in Gibeon *Josu* 10
Jonath an rescu'd *Sam* 1 14.
Saul in Gilboa 1 *Sam* 28 31
Græcon Idoloclastes *Jud* 6 7
Al-melech, the usurper *Jud* 9
*Samaria Liberata*¹ 2 *Reg* 7
Asa of Æthiopia, 2 *Chiron* 14 with
the deposing his mother, and burning her Idol

These are some of the subjects drawn from the New Testament .

Lazarus *John* 11.

Christ risen

Christus patiens

*The Scene in y^e garden beginning from y^e coming thither
 til Judas betraies and y^e officers lead him away—y^e rest by
 message and chorus His agony may receav noble expres-
 sions*

Of British subjects there are thirty-three. The last page is assigned to "Scotch stories or rather brittish of the north parts" Among these *Macbeth* is conspicuous Practically they may be grouped with the thirty-three, and the combined list is remarkable—first, because it does not include the Arthurian legend, which had once exercised so powerful a fascination on Milton, secondly, because in its brevity, as compared with the list of Scriptural subjects, it suggests his preference for a sacred poem

Of the Scriptural subjects the story of the Creation and Fall assumes the most prominent place Any friend of Milton glancing through these papers in 1641 could have conjectured, with tolerable certainty, where the poet's final choice would fall. For no

*Prose sketches
 of the scheme
 of a poem on
 the Fall of
 Man*

¹ The title is an obvious allusion to Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*

less than four of the entries refer to *Paradise Lost* Three of these stand at the head of the list of sacred themes In two at least his intention to treat the subject in dramatic form is patent

The two first drafts The two first—mere enumerations of possible *dra-*
matis personæ—run thus¹, it will be seen that the longer list is simply an expansion of the other

the Persons

Michael
Heavenly Love
Chorus of Angels
Lucifer
Adam } *with the serpent*
Eve }
Conscience
Death
Labour }
Sickness } *mutes*
Discontent }
Ignorance }
with others }
Faith
Hope
Charity

the Persons

*Moses*²
*Justice*³, *Mercie*, *Wisdom*
Heavenly Love
Hesperus the Evening Starre
Chorus of Angels
Lucifer
Adam
Eve
*Conscience*⁴
Labour }
Sickness } *mutes*
Discontent }
Ignorance }
Fear }
Death }
Faith
Hope
Charity

¹ As they are in the original, without any modernisation Neither is introduced with any title

² Milton wrote, "Moses or Michael," and afterwards deleted *or Michael*

³ The epithet *divine*, qualifying *Justice*, was inserted and then crossed out again

⁴ After *Conscience* Milton added *Death*, as in the first list, then deleted it, and placed *Death* among the 'mutes' (*mutæ personæ*, characters who appeared without speaking)

These lists are crossed out, and underneath stands a much fuller sketch, in which the action of the tragedy is shown, and the division into acts observed. Here, *The third draft* too, we first meet with the title *Paradise Lost*. The scheme is as follows

*Paradise Lost**The Persons*

Moses προλογίζει, recounting how he assum'd his true bodie, that it corrupts not because of his [being] with God in the mount, declares the like of Enoch and Eliah, besides the purity of y^e place, that certaine pure winds, dues, and clouds preserve it from corruption, whence exhorts to the sight of God, tells they¹ cannot se Adam in the state of innocence by reason of thire sin²

Justice
Mercie } *debating what should become of man if he fall*
Wisdom

Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of y^e Creation³

Act 2

Heavenly Love

Evening starre

Chorus sing the marriage song⁴ and describe Paradise

Act 3

Lucifer contriving Adams ruine

Chorus feares for Adam and relates Lucifers rebellion and fall⁵.

Act 4

Adam } *fallen*
Eve

Conscience cites them to Gods examination⁶

Chorus bewails and tells the good Adam hath lost

¹ *They*, i e the imaginary audience to whom the prologue is addressed Cf the commencement of *Comus*

² After this the first act begins

³ Cf VII 253—260, note

⁴ IV 711

⁵ bks V—VI

⁶ V 97 et seq

Act 5

*Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise
presented by an angel with¹*

Labour

Griefe

Hatred

Envie

Warre

Famine

Pestilence

Sickness

Discontent

Ignorance

Feare

*Death enterd
into y^e world*

*rites to whome he gives thine names
likewise Winter, Heat, Tempest, etc*

Faith

Hope

Charity

comfort him and instruct him

Chorus briefly concludes

This draft of the tragedy, which occurs on page 35 of the MS., is not deleted, but Milton was still dissatisfied, and later on, page 40, we come to a fourth, and concluding, scheme—which reads thus

*The fourth
draft*

Adam unparadis'd²

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering³, shewing since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth, as in heaven, describes Paradise Next the chorus shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise after Lucifers rebellion by command from God, and withall expressing

¹ Cf bks XI—XII

² Underneath was written, and crossed out, an alternative title—*Adams Banishment*

³ Cf *Comus*, "The Attendant Spirit descends or enters" (*ad mit*).

his¹ desire to see, and know more concerning this excellent new creature man. The angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing² Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of y^e chorus, and desired by them relates what he knew of man—as the creation of Eve with true love and marriage. After this Lucifer appears after his overthrow, censures himself, seeks revenge on man, the chorus prepare resistance at his first approach, at last after discourse of enmity on either side he departs, whereat the chorus sings of the battell, and vitorie in heaven against him and his accomplices, as before after the first act³ was sung a hymn of the creation. Here⁴ again may appear Lucifer relating, and insulting in what he had done to the destruction of man. Man next and Eve having by this time bin seduct by the serpent appears confusedly cover'd with leaves, conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place whither J. hova called for him. In the mean while the chorus entertains the stage, and is inform'd by some angel the manner of his fall, leav⁵ the chorus bewailes Adams fall. Adam then and Eve retaine and accuse one another, but especially Adam lays the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offence. Justice appeares, reasons with him, convinces him. The⁶ chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware by Lucifers example of impentence. The angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise, but before causes to passe before his eyes in shapes a mask of all the evils⁶ of this life and world, he is humbl'd, relents, despaires. At last appeares Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah, then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity, instructs him. He repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former draught (i.e. draft)

¹ His, i.e. the chorus's, he makes the chorus now a singular, now a plural, noun. The irregularity of the style of the whole entry, with its lack of punctuation, shows that it is merely a jotting, such as anyone might commit to a private memorandum-book.

² Passing through, cf. *Comus* 423.

³ i.e. in the third draft.

⁴ Each of these sentences was an after-thought, added below or in the margin.

⁵ See VI. 469—93, note.

With regard to the subject, therefore, thus much is clear: as early as 1641—2 Milton has manifested an unmistakeable preference for the story of the lost Paradise, and the evidence of the Trinity MSS coincides with the testimony of Aubrey and Phillips, who say that the poet did, about 1642, commence the composition of a drama on this theme—of which drama the opening verses of *Paradise Lost*, book IV (Satan's address to the sun), formed the exordium. It is, I think, by no means improbable that some other portions of the epic are really fragments of this unfinished work. Milton may have written two or three hundred lines, have kept them in his desk, and then, years afterward, when the project was resumed, have made use of them where opportunity offered. Had the poem, however, been completed in accordance with his original conception we should have had a tragedy, not an epic.

Of this there is abundant proof. The third and fourth sketches, as has been observed, are dramatic. On the first page of these entries, besides those lists of *dramatis personæ* which we have treated as the first and second sketches, stand the words "*other Tragedies*," followed by the enumeration of several feasible subjects. The list of British subjects is prefaced with the heading—"British Trag" (i.e. tragedies). Wherever Milton has outlined the treatment of any of the Scriptural themes a tragedy is clearly indicated. Twice, indeed, another form is mentioned—the pastoral, and probably a dramatic pastoral was intended¹. These, however, are exceptions, serving to emphasise his leaning towards tragedy.

But what sort of tragedy? I think we may fairly conclude that, if carried out on the lines laid down in the fourth sketch, *Adam-unparadis'd* would have borne a very marked resem-

¹ These are the two entries in the MS referred to *Theristria*, a Pastoral out of Ruth, and—the sheepshearers in Carmel, a Pastoral i Sam 25. There is but one glance at the epical style, in the list of "British Tragedies," after mentioning an episode in the life of King Alfred appropriate to dramatic handling, he adds—"A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in Alfreds reigne."

blance to *Samson Agonistes* it would have conformed, in the main, to the same type—that, namely, of the ancient Greek drama. With the romantic stage of the Elizabethans Milton appears to have felt little sympathy¹ else he would scarce have written certain verses in *Il Penseroso*². Nor do I believe that his youthful enthusiasm for Shakespeare endured long³: certainly, within a few years of the period of which we are speaking he penned the unfortunate passage in *Likonoklastes* which only just escapes being a sneer at Shakespeare, while the condemnation of one important aspect of Shakespearian tragedy in the preface to *Samson Agonistes* is too plain to be misinterpreted. So had Milton been minded to dramatise the story of Macbeth—we have marked its presence in the list of Scottish subjects—his *Macbeth* would have differed *tole cælo* from Shakespeare's. In the same way, his tragedy of *Paradise Lost* would have been wholly un-Shakespearian, wholly un-Elizabethan. Nor would it have had any affinity to the drama of Milton's contemporaries⁴, those belated Elizabethans bungling with exhausted materials and forms that had lost all vitality. Tragedy for Milton could mean but one thing—the tragic stage of the Greeks, the “dramatic constitutions” of Sophocles and Euripides and when we examine these sketches of *Paradise Lost* we find in them the familiar features of Athenian drama—certain signs eloquent of the source on which the poet has drawn.

Let us, for example, glance at the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*. Milton has kept the “unities” of place and time. The scene does not change, it is set in some part of Eden, and everything represented before the eyes of the audience occurs at the same spot. But whoso regards the unity of place must suffer a portion of the action to happen off the stage—not enacted in the presence of the audi-

*In the style of
the Greek
drama*

*This is shown
by the Trinity
MSS*

¹ See *Appendix to Samson Agonistes*, pp. 162—164

² ll 101, 102, see note on them

³ See note on *L'Allegro*, 133, 134 (Pitt Press ed.)

⁴ In the treatise *On Education*, 1644, he speaks of “our common rhymers and play-writers” as “despicable creatures,” *P. W.* III. 474

ence (as in a modern play where the scene changes), but reported In *Samson Agonistes* Milton employs the traditional device of the Greek tragedians—he relates the catastrophe by the mouth of a messenger So here the temptation by the serpent is not represented on the scene it is described—partly by Lucifer, “relating, and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man,” partly by an angel who informs the Chorus of the manner of the fall Again, the unity of time is observed. The time over which the action of a tragedy might extend, according to the usual practice of the Greek dramatists, was twenty-four hours In *Samson Agonistes* the action begins at sunrise and ends at noon, thus occupying seven or eight hours In *Adam unparadis’d* the action would certainly not exceed the customary twenty-four hours Again a Chorus is introduced (sure sign of classical influence), and not only introduced, but handled exactly as Milton, following his Greek models, has handled it in *Samson Agonistes* that is to say, closely identified with the action of the tragedy, even as Aristotle recommends that it should be¹ Further, in the fourth scheme the division into acts is carefully avoided—an advance this on the third scheme Similarly, in *Samson Agonistes* Milton avoids splitting up the play into scenes and acts, calling attention to the fact in his preface. Proofs² of Milton’s classical bias might be multiplied from these Milton MSS, and personally I have no doubt that when he began the tragedy of which Aubrey and Phillips speak, he meant to revive in English the methods and style of his favourite

¹ See *Introduction to Samson Agonistes*, pp xxxiv—xxxvi

² Thus, apart from *P L*, the Scriptural themes whereof the fullest sketches are given, are three tragedies severally entitled *Isaac redeem’d*, *Baptistes* (i.e. on the subject of John the Baptist and Herod), and *Sodom burning* In each the two unities (time and place) are kept, and a Chorus used In *Isaac redeem’d* the incident of the sacrifice is reported, and the description of the character of the hero Abraham as Milton meant to depict him is simply a paraphrase on Aristotle’s definition of the ideal tragic hero Most of the other subjects have a sub-title such as the Greek tragedians employed To a classical scholar the bearing of such evidence is patent

Greek poet's. But the scheme soon had to be abandoned, and not till a quarter of a century later was it executed, with only a change of subject, in *Samson Agonistes*¹.

The third period in the genesis of *Paradise Lost* dates from 1658. In that year, according to Aubrey, Milton "*Paradise* *lost*" in the poem as we know it. By then he had *lost* ^{it} ^{all} gone back to the epic style. He was still Secretary, but his duties were very light, and allowed him to devote himself to poetry. At the Restoration he was in danger, for some time, of his life, and was imprisoned for a few months. But in spite of this interruption, and of his blindness², the epic was *Completed and* *revised* finished about 1663. The history of each of his longer poems shows that he was exceedingly careful in revising his works—loath to let them go forth to the world till all that was possible had been done to achieve perfection. It is Aubrey's statement that *Paradise Lost* was completed in 1663, while Milton's friend Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker, describes in a famous passage of his *Autobiograph*, how in 1665 the poet placed a manuscript in his hands—"bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and, when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon. When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he intituled *Paradise Lost*" Ellwood's account may be reconciled with Aubrey's on the reasonable supposition that the interval between 1663 and 1665 was spent in revision. Still, some delay in publishing the poem ensued. On the outbreak of the Plague in 1665 Milton had left London, retiring to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, where Ellwood had rented a cottage for him. He returned in the next year, 1666,

¹ The point is important because it disposes of the silly notion that Milton borrowed the idea of writing a tragedy on the classical model from the play of *Samson* by the Dutch poet Vondel. See *Appendix to Samson Agonistes*, pp 162—164.

² According to Edward Phillips, Milton dictated the poem to any one who chanced to be present and was willing to act as amanuensis, afterwards Phillips would go over the MS, correcting errors, under his uncle's direction.

but again there was delay—this time through the great Fire of London which disorganized business Not till 1667
Published did *Paradise Lost* appear in print The date of the agreement drawn up between Milton and his publisher—by which he received an immediate payment of £5, and retained certain rights over the future sale of the book—is dated April 27, 1667 The date on which *Paradise Lost* was entered in the Stationers' Register is August 20, 1667 No doubt, copies were in circulation in the autumn of this year

This first edition of *Paradise Lost* raises curious points¹ of bibliography into which there is no need to enter
The first edition here, but we must note three things (i) The poem was divided into—not twelve books but—ten (ii) In the earlier copies issued to the public there were no prose *Arguments*, these (written, we may suppose, by Milton himself) were printed all together and inserted at the commencement of each of the later volumes of this first edition—an awkward arrangement changed in the second edition (iii) Milton prefixed to the later copies the brief prefatory note on *The Verse*, explaining why he had used blank verse, and it was preceded by the address of *The Printer to the Reader* It seems that the number of copies printed in the first edition was 1500, and the statement of another payment made by the publisher to Milton on account of the sale of the book shows that by April 26, 1669, i.e. a year and a half after the date of publication, 1300 copies had been disposed of

¹ For example, no less than nine distinct title-pages of this edition have been traced This means that, though the whole edition was printed in 1667, only a limited number of copies were bound up and issued in that year The rest would be kept in stock, unbound, and published in instalments, as required Hence new matter could be inserted (such as the prose *Arguments*), and in each instalment it would be just as easy to bind up a new title-page as to use the old one Often the date had to be changed and we find that two of these pages bear the year 1667, four, 1668, and three, 1669 Seven have Milton's name in full, two, only his initials Mr Leigh Sotheby has collated them carefully in his book on Milton's autograph, pp 81—84

In 1674 the second edition was issued—with several changes. First, the epic was divided into twelve books, a more Vergilian number, by the subdivision¹ of *The second edition.* books VII and X. Secondly, the prose *Arguments* were transferred from the beginning and prefixed to the respective books to which they severally belonged. Thirdly, a few changes² were introduced into the text—few of any great significance. Four years later, 1678, came the third edition, and in 1688 the fourth. This last was the well-known folio published by Tonson; *Paradise Re- Later editions* *gained* and *Samson Agonistes* were bound up with some copies of it, so that Milton's three great works were obtainable in a single volume. The first annotated edition of *Paradise Lost* was that edited by Patrick Hume in 1695, being the sixth reprint. And during the last century editions³ were very numerous.

There is, indeed, little ground for the view which one so frequently comes across—that *Paradise Lost* met with scant appreciation, and that Milton was neglected by his contemporaries, and without honour in his lifetime. To the general public epic poetry will never appeal, more especially if it be steeped in the classical feeling that pervades *Paradise Lost*; but there must have been a goodly number of scholars and lettered readers to welcome the work—else why these successive editions, appearing at no very lengthy intervals? One thing, doubtless, which prejudiced its popularity was the personal resentment of the Royalist classes at Milton's political actions. They could not

Was Milton appreciated by his contemporaries?

¹ Milton wrote three fresh lines to introduce bk VIII in the new arrangement of the poem, and five lines for the beginning of bk XII. It was to the second edition that the commendatory verses by Samuel Barrow and Andrew Marvell were prefixed.

² Preeminent among them is Bishop Newton's edition (1749). He was the first editor who took pains to secure accuracy of text, doing, on a smaller scale, for Milton what Theobald did for Shakespeare. His services too in the elucidation of certain aspects (notably the Scriptural) of Milton's learning have never been surpassed.

Seven Mortal Sins Milton pierced through the absurdity of that performance to the hidden majesty of the subject, which, being altogether unfit for the stage, yet might be, for the genius of Milton, and his only, the foundation of an epick poem "What authority he had for this legend Voltaire does not say It is not alluded to by any of Milton's contemporary biographers It may have been a mere invention¹ by some ill-wisher of the poet, a piece of malicious gossip circulated out of political spite against the great champion of republicanism But it has given rise to various conjectures as that Milton may have met Andreini himself, or may have read² the work, if he did not actually see it represented All of which is quite possible but then it is equally possible that none of these things happened We have only this random remark by Voltaire, unsupported by a scrap of satisfactory external evidence, and not substantiated by any striking internal resemblance between the *Adamo* and *Paradise Lost* Even to accept the Voltairean theory were only to admit that Andreini's play may have supplied Milton with a notion of what the subject which is common to the two poets might be made to yield Seeing the *Adamo* represented, or reading it, Milton may have discovered and been impressed by the "hidden majesty" of the theme that is like enough only we could wish some more conclusive testimony than Voltaire's unconfirmed account that Milton did ever either see or peruse the play

The second claimant is the Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel He was contemporary with Milton, and the author of a great number of works Among *Vondel's* "*Lucifer*" them were several dramas on Scriptural subjects

¹ Even Johnson, no friendly critic of Milton, characterised it as "a wild and unauthorised story"

² It had been printed in 1613, and again in 1617 The title-page of the first edition describes the work as "*L'Adamo, Sacra Representatione, da Giovanni-Battista Andreini Milano, 1613*" A translation by Hayley was printed in Cowper's edition of Milton He would be clever who should find aught markedly Miltonic in the *Adamo* Pope could not (according to Spence, *Anecdotes*)

With three of them Milton is supposed by some writers to have been acquainted. These are *Lucifer* (1654), a drama on the revolt of the angels and their fall from heaven, *John the Messenger* (1662), and *Adam in Banishment* (1664). In a work¹ published a few years since it was contended that Milton borrowed a good deal from these three poems—a view from which I beg leave to dissent. It is unsupported by a shred of external testimony, and is intrinsically unlikely.

That Milton had probably heard of Vondel may be conceded. Vondel enjoyed a great reputation, beside which, there was in the 17th century much intercourse between England and Holland, and Milton from his position as Secretary, no less than from his controversies with Salmasius and Morus, must have had his thoughts constantly directed towards the Netherlands.

Also, we learn that he had some knowledge of the Dutch language. But it will be observed that the earliest of the poems with which he is thought to have been too conversant, namely *Lucifer*, was not published till after his blindness, while by the time that the last of them, *Adam in Banishment*, appeared, *Paradise Lost* was almost completed. It is impossible that Milton read a line of the works himself if he knew them at all, it must have been through the assistance of some reader or translator, and considering how many details concerning the last years of Milton's life have survived, it is exceeding curious that this reader or translator should have escaped mention, and that the Vondelian fiction should not have been heard of till a century after the poet's death. For there were plenty of people ready to do him an ill-turn and damage his repute, and plagiarism from his Dutch contemporary would have been an excellent cry to raise. As it is, Milton's biographers—and contemporaries—Phillips, Aubrey, Toland, Antony à Wood, are absolutely silent on the subject. Phillips indeed and Toland expressly mention the languages in which Milton used to have works read to him. The list is extensive it includes

¹ I allude to Mr Edmundson's *Milton and Vondel* (1885).

Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and French: and it does *not* include Dutch—a most significant omission

In default of external proof those who put forward this ignoble theory of plagiarism have recourse to the test of the parallel passage they cite what they conceive to be similarities of thought, description and expression between Vondel's three poems and *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. This test is always unsatisfactory—even when the writers compared use the same vehicle of expression, a common language. But applied to writers separated by difference of tongue the test becomes well-nigh worthless. It will prove everything—or nothing—you have only to take passages that treat of the same subject and translate the one, as far as may be, into the actual words of the other, and the charge of plagiarism will seem proved up to the hilt. But the process does not commend itself to impartial critics, and I think that any unbiassed reader who examines these supposed similarities between Milton and Vondel will be of opinion, that the most are merely *The resemblances accidental* ridiculous—no similarities at all—and that the few Vondelian passages which may be compared quite legitimately with parts of *Paradise Lost* only serve to illustrate the elementary truth that writers who handle the same themes must meet in periodic points of resemblance¹

There remains the so-called *Cædmon Paraphrase*. In the Bodleian is the manuscript of an Old English metrical *Paraphrase* of parts² of the Old Testament. *Cædmon* This work was long attributed to the Northumbrian religious writer Cædmon, of whom Bede speaks. Cædmon lived in the seventh century. He is supposed to have died about 670. There is no reason for thinking that he was not the author of sacred poems, as Bede represents him to have been, but there is also no possibility of believing that the *Paraphrase*, as we have it, was written by him. It is a composite work in which

¹ This Vondel question is discussed at some detail in an essay appended to my edition of *Samson Agonistes* (Pitt Press Series), pp 158—168

² Namely *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*. It is the paraphrase of *Genesis* that would have concerned Milton most.

several hands may be traced, and the different styles belong to a date long subsequent to Cædmon¹ The MS was once in the possession of Archbishop Usher He presented it in 1651 to his secretary, the Teutonic scholar, Francis Dujon, commonly called Franciscus Junius Junius published the MS at Amsterdam in 1655 Milton never saw the *Paraphrase* in print, for the same reason that he never saw Vondel's *Lucifer*. But inasmuch as Junius had been settled in England since 1620, it is quite likely that he knew Milton², if so, he may have mentioned the *Paraphrase*, and even translated parts of it Here, however, as in the previous cases of Andreini and Vondel, we cannot get beyond conjecture; the question resolves itself perforce into the irritating 'perhaps,' 'may have,' *plus* the inevitable parallel passage For just as one critic is ready with his "resemblances" from the *Adamo*, and another with reams of crude commonplace from *Lucifer*, so the victims of the Cædmon fallacy have their set of pet parallels betwixt the *Paraphrase* (which in its Old English dress was probably unintelligible to Milton³) and *Paradise Lost* And though we have mentioned but three of these supposed "sources" of *Paradise Lost*—perhaps three too many—yet there be who shall say how many other works in which "resemblances" have been detected? In fact, what it comes to is this almost every work (no matter what the language) dealing with the same subject as *Paradise Lost* and written prior to it, has been seized on and made to serve the purposes of the traffickers in parallel passages Dutch epics

¹ See the article by Mr Henry Bradley in the *Dictionary of Biography* There is also a good discussion of the authorship of the work in the Appendix to Professor Ten Brink's *Early English Literature*

² This was first pointed out by Sharon Turner, see also Masson, *Life*, vi 557

³ In a very ingenious paper in *Anglia*, iv pp. 401—405, Professor Wuelcker argues that Milton had not much knowledge of Anglo Saxon In his *History of Britain* he habitually quotes Latin Chronicles, and in one place virtually admits that an Old English chronicle was not intelligible to him

(with "the very Dutch sublimity" which Southey discovered in the *Ancient Mariner*); Latin epics and tragedies¹ by German and Scotch and English scholars; Italian, Spanish and Portuguese poems all bring grist to the mill, and the outcome is a mass—gross as a mountain, open, palpable—of what Dr Masson justly terms "laborious nonsense" ¹

Now to prove a negative is proverbially difficult, and it is beyond any man's power to demonstrate that Milton was *not* acquainted with Andreini, or *Milton no plagiarist* Vondel, or Cædmon², or some of the other writers. He *may* have known their works he *may* have been indebted to them for an occasional suggestion. It is an open question it admits of no decisive settlement one way or the other, because we have no decisive evidence—external or internal. But that Milton "plagiarised" from them, that in any of them lay the "origin" of *Paradise Lost*, that the qualities which have made the epic immortal were due, in the faintest degree, to any other genius than that of Milton himself these are fond delusions, vainly imagined, without warrant, and altogether to be cast out.

We must indeed recognise in Milton's style the impress of four great influences—these being the Bible, the classics, the Italian poets, and English literature. Of the Bible he possessed a knowledge such as few have had. There are hundreds of allusions to it the words of Scripture underlie some part of the text of every page of *Paradise Lost*, and apart from verbal reminiscences there is much of the spirit that

The four great influences discernible in Milton

The Bible

¹ There was a Latin tragedy, *Adamus Exul*, by the jurist Grotius. Milton met Grotius in Paris (as he tells us in the *Defensio Secunda*), and quotes him in his prose works. Perhaps he read the tragedy.

² The delusion reached its climax in the monstrous mendacities of William Lauder, for a sample of his libellous malevolence see i 261—263, note.

³ I may note in passing that "resemblances" every whit as striking as those which are cited from the *Paraphrase* may be found in Cynewulf's

pervades that noblest achievement of the English tongue.

The classics Scarcely less powerful was the influence of the classics. Milton's allusiveness extends over the whole empire of classical humanity and letters, and to the scholar his work is full of the exquisite charm of endless reference to the noblest things that the ancients have thought

Italian poets and said That he was deeply versed in Italian poetry the labours of his early editors have abundantly proved, and their comparative studies are confirmed by the frequent mention of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto and

English literature others in his prose works and correspondence In English literature I imagine that he had read everything worth reading Without doubt, he was most affected by "our admired Spenser"¹ He was, says²

Spenser, and the Spenserian school Dryden, "the poetical son of Spenser Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original" And there was a Spenserian school of poets, mostly Cambridge men, and some of them contemporary with Milton at the University, with whose works he evidently had a considerable acquaintance Among these the two Fletchers were conspicuous—Giles Fletcher, author of the sacred poems *Christ's Victorie on Earth* and *Christ's Triumph in Heaven*, and Phineas Fletcher, author of *The Purple Island* The influence of the Fletchers is manifest in Milton's early poems³, and it is traceable in *Paradise Lost* Finally, we must not

Christ by anyone who will study the beautiful edition of that poem lately edited by Mr Gollancz of Christ's College Yet who would contend that the *Codex Exoniensis*, wrapped in the cloistered obscurity of a chapter-house, was known to Milton? Identity of inspiration (the Scripture) explains similarity

¹ *Animadversions*, P W III 84 On Milton's feeling for Spenser see note to *Il Penseroso* 116—120 ² *Preface to Fables*

³ See the *Introduction* to *Comus*, p xxxviii, and that to *Lycidas*, pp xlv—xlvii Phineas Fletcher's *Apollyonists* might also be mentioned (see II 650, 746, notes) Besides the Fletchers, there was Henry More, the famous "Cambridge Platonist" Milton must have known him at Christ's College

forget Sylvester. Joshua Sylvester (of whom little is known beyond that he was born in 1563, died in 1618, and diversified the profession of merchant with the ^{Sylvester's} "Du Bartas" making of much rhyme, translated into exceedingly Spenserian verse *The Divine Weeks and Works* of the French poet, Du Bartas¹. The subject of this very lengthy work is the story of Creation, with the early history of the Jews. The translation was amazingly popular. Dryden confessed that he had once preferred Sylvester to Spenser. There is no doubt that Milton studied Sylvester in his youth, and *The Divine Weeks* is certainly one of the works whereof account must be taken in any attempt to estimate the literary influences that moulded Milton's style.

But a writer may be influenced by others, and not "plagiarise;" and it is well to remember that from Vergil downwards the great poets have exercised their royal right of adapting the words of their forerunners and infusing into them a fresh charm and suggestion, since in allusion lies one of the chief delights of literature. It is well, also, to realise wherein lies the greatness of *Paradise Lost*, and to understand that all the borrowing in the world could not contribute a jot to the qualities which have rendered the epic "a possession for ever." What has made the poem live is not the story, nobly though that illustrates the eternal antagonism of righteousness and wrong, and the overthrow of evil, nor the construction, though this is sufficiently artistic, nor the learning, though this is vast, nor the characterisation, for which there is little scope—not these things, though all are factors in the greatness of the poem, and in all Milton rises to the height of his argument—but the incomparable elevation of the style, "the shaping spirit of Imagination," and the mere majesty of the music.

What constitutes the greatness of "Paradise Lost"

¹ Sylvester translated a good deal from Du Bartas beside the *Divine Weeks*, and rhymed on his own account. Dr Grosart has collected his works into two bulky volumes.

THE STORY OF THE POEM

A sketch of the action of the whole poem, following the sequence of the twelve books, may be useful to those who are acquainted only with parts of *Paradise Lost* —

I The scene Hell—the time nine days after the expulsion of Satan and his followers from Heaven They lie on the burning lake, stupefied Satan first recovers, rouses Beelzebub, discusses with him their position, and then makes his way from the lake to a “dreary plain” of dry land Beelzebub follows; Satan calls to his comrades to do likewise Rising on the wing they reach the same firm land Their numbers and names described They range themselves in battle-array before Satan, who addresses them They may still (he says) regain Heaven, or there may be other worlds to win—in particular, a new world, inhabited by new-created beings, of which report had spoken let these matters be duly conferred of Straightway, a vast palace—Pandemonium—is made, to serve as council-chamber. Here a council is held, only the great Angels are present

II The scene—at first—Pandemonium, the debate begins Satan invites their counsel—“who can advise may speak” Moloch, Belial and Mammon speak—their several counsels last Beelzebub, who reverts to Satan’s hint of the new world Why not ruin it? or make it their own? or win its inhabitants to their side? What better revenge against the Almighty? The plan approved—but who will discover this world? None volunteer and then Satan offers to undertake the journey His offer accepted, the council leaving Pandemonium breaks up, the result announced to the rest of the Angels How they pass the time till his return—some exploring Hell (now more closely described) Meanwhile he reaches Hell-gates, is suffered to pass by Sin and Death, voyages through Chaos (described), and at

last comes within sight of the Universe hung in space¹ (i.e. Chaos) We leave him directing his course towards the World

III. The scene—at first—Heaven The Almighty perceives Satan, points him out to the Son, tells what his design is, and its destined success, tells also that Man will be saved ultimately—if he can find a Redeemer “The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man,” is accepted by the Father, and praised by the Angelic host Meanwhile—the scene changing—Satan, having reached the outer surface (described) of the Universe, wanders through various regions (described), until, coming to the single opening in the surface, he descends into the inside of the Universe¹ He arrives at the sphere of the Sun, disguising himself as a young Angel from Heaven, enquires from Uriel, the Sun-spirit, the way to Earth—pretending “desire to behold the new Creation,” is directed by Uriel, descends again, and alights on Mt Niphates

IV There, pausing awhile, he gives way to regret that he has rebelled, and rage at his outcast state, passion distorts his face, so that Uriel, watching, now knows him for an evil spirit Thence, recovering self-control, Satan journeys on towards Eden, the main scene (described), sees Adam and Eve (famous description of them), overhears what they say concerning the Tree of Knowledge, and perceives at once the means whereby to compass their fall At nightfall he essays to tempt Eve in a dream, is discovered by Gabriel, who, warned by Uriel, has descended to Eden to defend Man A battle between Satan and Gabriel imminent, but averted Satan flies

V The scene still Eden A further picture of Adam and Eve—their worship and work Raphael (the scene having changed for a brief space to Heaven) comes to warn them of their danger, at the bidding of the Almighty—so that Man, if he falls, may fall knowingly, by his own fault Raphael received and entertained, admonishes Adam, explains who his enemy is, and why which leads to an account of the rebellion in Heaven—its beginning described

¹ See *Appendix*.

VI The scene of the events narrated by Raphael Heaven. He describes the three days' war in Heaven, at the end of which Satan and his followers were cast into Hell The warning to Adam repeated

VII The scene Eden. Raphael describes the Creation of the World, which is accomplished by the Son of God

VIII The scene the same. Adam enquires concerning the stars and Heavenly bodies, Raphael answers doubtfully. Adam recounts his own first experience of Eden—how the Almighty forbade him to touch the Tree of Knowledge, under pain of what penalty, how he first saw Eve The day declines, and Raphael departs—once more warning Adam

IX The scene the same "Adam and Eve go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart" Adam dissuades, she persisting, he yields So Satan (in the form of a serpent) finds her alone and tempts her She eats of the fruit and induces Adam to do so Their sense of sin and shame

X. The Son of God descends to Eden, and pronounces doom on Adam and Eve and the Serpent Meanwhile Satan, returning to Pandemonium, announces the result of his journey, and lo! on a sudden he and his followers are changed to reptiles Sin and Death now ascend from Hell to Eden, to claim the World as theirs, but the Almighty foretells their ultimate overthrow by the Son, and commands the Angels to make changes in the elements and stars, whereby the Earth becomes less fair The repentance of Adam and Eve, who seek comfort in supplication of the Deity The scene has changed often

XI The Son interceding, the Father sends Michael to Eden (henceforth the scene) to reveal the future to Adam—above all, his hope of redemption After announcing to Adam his approaching banishment from Eden, Michael takes him to a high mountain and unrolls before him a vision of the World's history till the Flood

XII Then he traces the history of Israel after the Flood, till the coming of Christ, with the subsequent progress of Christianity ending with renewed promise of redemption The fiery

Cherubim now descend Michael leads Adam and Eve to the gates of Eden, and they go forth, sad yet consoled with the hope of salvation at the last¹.

MILTON'S BLANK VERSE

Something must be said concerning the metre of *Paradise Lost*, and first let us glance at the prefatory note, already mentioned, on *The Verse*

Milton's attitude towards rhyme reminds us of the condemnations showered on it by Elizabethan critics Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570) sneers at "our rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by *The use of rhyme* *Gothes and Hunnes*, whan all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyed by them and at last receyued into England by men of excellent wit indeede, but of small learning, and lesse judgement in that behalfe" "Barbarous" is his darling epithet for rhymed verse Puttenham² is of a like mind, waving aside "the rhyming poesie of the barbarians," and Webbe³ in his *Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) takes up the tale, ridiculing it as "tinkerly verse"—"brutish poesie"—"a great decay of the good order of versifying" Why Milton should have adopted the same position as these Elizabethan critics who approached the question in a spirit of the merest pedantry, and based their objections to rhyme solely on the fact that it was not employed by the ancients, it is not easy to say He uses rhyme occasionally in *Samson Agonistes*, in spite of his denunciation of it here, and his own early poems are sufficient refutation of the heresy that therein lies "no true musical delight"

¹ Thus *Paradise Lost* conforms with a canon of epic poetry, and does not really close on a note of sorrow

² *Arte of English Poesie*, in Haslewood, I pp 7—9

³ Haslewood, II 55

There is a polemical tone in his remarks, as though he were replying to some unnamed antagonist, and I cannot help thinking that this preface was meant to be his contribution to the controversy then raging over the comparative advantages of rhymed and unrhymed metres on the stage. In fact, significant in itself, Milton's opinion becomes doubly so if regarded from the standpoint of his contemporaries. Hardly could they fail to see in it a retort to what Dryden had written in the behalf of rhyme—notably in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1665), in which the rhymed couplet had been set forth as the best vehicle of dramatic expression. In play after play Dryden had put his theory into practice: others had followed his example, to rhyme or not to rhyme—that had become the great question; and here was Milton brushing the matter on one side as of no moment, with the autocratic dictum that rhyme was a vain and fond thing with which a "sage and serious" poet need have no commerce. His readers must have detected the contemporary application of his words—just as later on they must have interpreted his preface to *Samson Agonistes*, with its pointed eulogy of the Greek stage and its depreciation of Restoration tragedy (and "other common interludes"), as a counterblast to the comparison which Dryden had drawn between the modern and the classical drama, in the interests of the former.

However, be this correct or not, and superfluous as it may seem to us that Milton should justify his adoption of blank verse—wherein his surpassing skill is the best of all justifications—we have cause to be grateful to the "stumbleings" of the unlettered which led him to write this preface, since it happily defines the qualities for which the metre of *Paradise Lost* is remarkable.

The distinguishing characteristic of Milton's blank verse is his use of what Mr Saintsbury¹ calls the verse-paragraph. Blank verse is exposed to two dangers. It may be formal and stiff by being circumscribed to single lines or couplets, or diffuse and formless

The "paragraph" in Milton's blank verse.

¹ *Elizabethan Literature*, p. 327

through the sense and rhythm being carried on beyond the couplet. In its earlier stages the metre suffered from the former tendency. It either closed with a strong pause at the end of every line, or just struggled to the climax of the couplet¹. Further it never extended until Marlowe took the "drumming decasyllabon" into his hands, broke up the fetters of the couplet-form, and by the process of overflow carried on the rhythm from verse to verse according as the sense required. It is in his plays that we first get verse in which variety of cadence and pause and beat takes the place of rhyme. Milton entered on the heritage that Marlowe and Shakespeare bequeathed, and brought blank verse to its highest pitch of perfection as an instrument of narration.

Briefly, that perfection lies herein: if we examine a page of *Paradise Lost* we find that what the poet has to say is, for the most part, conveyed, not in single lines, nor in rigid couplets—but in flexible combinations of verses, which wait upon his meaning, not twisting or constraining the sense, but suffering it to be "variously drawn out," so that the thought is merged in its expression.

And these combinations, or paragraphs, are informed by a perfect internal concord and rhythm—held together by a chain of harmony. With a writer less sensitive to sound this free method of versifying would result in mere chaos. But Milton's ear is so delicate, that he steers unfaltering through the long, involved passages, distributing the pauses and rests with a cunning which knits the paragraph into a coherent, regulated whole. He combines, in fact, the two essential qualities of blank verse—freedom and form: the freedom that admits variety of effect, without which a long narrative becomes intolerably monotonous; and the form which saves an unrhymed measure from drifting into that which is nearer to bad prose than to good verse.

*Rhythm and
balance of his
paragraphs*

Analysis of the metrical principles on which his lines are based is a thorny matter, but without attempting to go fully into

¹ Cf. the passage from *Gorboduc*, quoted later on

a subject whereon critics of equal competence hold very dissimilar opinions, we may note a few points, to remember which is to have a key to some of the apparent difficulties of his scansion. First, be it recollected that the quantitative system of metre with which the works of Greek and Latin poets familiarise us does not apply in English. The metrical effects of English verse rest on the principle of accent, and it is convenient to regard an accented or stressed syllable as long—an unaccented or unstressed syllable as short. Secondly, the

*The iambic
basis of blank
verse*

typical blank verse is a line of five iambic feet that is, of ten syllables, with five accents or stresses falling on the even numbers, i.e. on syllables 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. These are typical examples

"Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights
His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings¹"

In its early days, as understood and practised by some pre-Shakespearian writers, blank verse conformed rigidly to this type. "Surely," complained Gascoigne² in 1575, "I can lament that wee are fallen into suche a playne and simple manner of wryting, that there is none other foote vsed but one. But since it is so [let] all the wordes in your verse be so placed as the first sillable may sound short or be depressed, the second long or eleuate, the third shorte, the fourth long, the fifth shorte, etc."

That this was the accepted notion of blank verse may be seen from an extract from the piece which enjoys the honour of being the first specimen of English classical tragedy—*Gorboduc* (1561)

"Why should I live and linger forth my time,
In longer life to double my distress?
O me most woeful wight! whom no mishap
Long ere this day could have bereaved hence

¹ *P L* IV 763, 764

² *Certaine Notes of Instruction in English Verse*, 1575 (Arber's ed p 34)

Mought not these hands by fortune or by fate
Have pierced this breast, and life with iron rest¹?"

And so on, through scene after scene

No one who recalls the history of blank verse will be surprised that it should have been of this strict iambic type. The impulse to abandon rhyme and to substitute a blank or unrhymed measure was a phase of the classicism fostered by the Renaissance.

The use of unrhymed metre due to classical influence

The standard to which critics appealed then at every turn was the practice of the Greeks and Romans, and it was under this classical tyranny that certain critics and scholar-poets surrendered the native principle of rhyme, and evolved a monotonous iambic line—the "pure iambic" as Campion calls it—which was considered to be a good substitute for the Greek senarius. True, the Greek senarius was a foot longer, and admitted other feet than the iambus, but the Elizabethan critics deemed that their decasyllabic line, with its five unvarying accents, was a very tolerable equivalent for the metre of Sophocles and Euripides. Saith Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570), "I am sure, our English tong will receiue *carmen Iambicum* as naturallie, as either *Greke* or *Latin*." So thought others, and for a brief while *carmen iambicum* had much vogue. But public taste soon rebelled against this single-foot measure, and then there came into being the "licentiate iambic²" that is, a measure in which the iambic predominated, but which permitted the presence of other feet—notably the trochee. In the hands of the dramatists—to Marlowe be the chief honour given—this "licentiate iambic" developed into blank verse.

Now that Milton's blank verse is "licentiate"—in that it admits *dissyllabic* feet which are not iambi—few critics, I opine, would dispute. Let us glance at these *dissyllabic*, non-iambic, feet.

Dissyllabic variations from the iambic type in Milton

A dissyllabic foot may be of four kinds: an

¹ Videna's speech at the beginning of Act IV—one of the most vigorous in the play.

² The phrase is Thomas Campion's (*Art of English Poesie*, 1602—see Haslewood, II 168).

iambus=a short syllable followed by a long, a trochee=long followed by a short, a spondee=two longs, a pyrrhic=two shorts Examples of dissyllabic variations are not far to seek. Here are lines with trochees in the italicised parts

*His use of
Trochees*

- "*R*ose out | of chaos or if Sion hill¹"
 "In the | *v*isions | of God It was a hill²"
 "On a sunbeam | *s*wift as | a shooting star³."
 "Instruct me, for thou know'st, | *t*hou from | the first⁴"
 "Which of us who beholds the bright | *s*urface⁵"

It will be seen that a trochee is admitted in any foot of the verse, but it is most common in the first, giving the line a vigorous impetus, less common in the third and fourth places, rare in the second, and very rare in the fifth⁶ Sometimes we have two trochees in the same line—these being examples

- "*u*niversal | reproach, far worse to bear⁷"
 "*u*niversal^{ly} adorned with highest praises⁸."

Of Spondees Here, again, are instances of a spondaic rhythm⁹

- "*W*ide w^orl^ding, all approach far off to fright¹⁰"
 "*I*ll S^on | of the | *M*ost *H*igh |, heir of both worlds¹¹"

¹ P L I 10

² XI 377

³ IV 556

⁴ I 19

⁵ VI 472

⁶ My authority is Mr Bridges. He treats these trochaic feet as "inversions of rhythm," but as they are really trochees, it seems simpler to call them accordingly. I believe that one of the first writers to admit the trochee into blank verse was Marlowe, he limits it to the first, third and fourth feet. In Shakespeare, as in Milton, it occurs in all five, though oftenest in the first. It generally comes after a pause or an emphasised monosyllable, and emphasises the sense of the word on which the accent is so shifted. For double trochees in Shakespeare, cf., perhaps, *Cymbeline*, I 3 7, "*S*enseless | *I*nen! | happier therein than I", and *Comedy of Errors*, I 1 151, "*T*herefore, | *m*erchant, | I'll limit thee this day" (Abbott's *Shakespearean Grammar* pp 328—330)


⁷ P L VI 34

⁸ *Samson Agonistes*, 175

⁹ "I perpetually find in Milton's verse a foot for which 'Spondee' is the best name, and it would be difficult to characterise many of his lines otherwise than by calling them Spondaic" (Masson)

¹⁰ XI 121

¹¹ P R IV 633

As a pyrrhic consists of two short or unaccented syllables, it is obvious that any line in which one occurs must contain less than the normal number of five accents *Of Pyrrhics*  This failure of accent is not uncommon in Shakespeare and Milton. Dr Abbott thinks that of Shakespeare's lines "rather less than one of three has the full number of five emphatic accents." I doubt whether the instances are so frequent in Milton, but they are sufficiently common to make it desirable to remember that five stresses are not essential to a blank verse—rather that for variety sake it is necessary that one or more should be occasionally remitted. The following examples show that this may occur in any¹ of the first four feet

"*Whēthēr* upheld by strength, or chance, or fate²."

"Productive *in* herb, plant, and nobler birth³."

"Yet fell remembēr, *and* fear to transgress⁴."

"Before the Heavens⁵ thou wert, *and at* the voice⁶."

In the fifth foot there must be some accent, as the last syllable derives a certain stress from the mere fact that it marks the close of the line. Sometimes there is a double failure of accent in the same verse, leaving it with only three stresses, compare the line, "His minīstērs of vengeance *and* pursuīt⁷." The percentage of such verses in Shakespeare is about 7.

The question of Milton's use of *trisyllabic* feet—anapæsts, dactyls and the like—is more difficult. Where scansion depends not on the fixed quantity of syllables but on a thing so undefined and unfixed as accent there must be difference of opinion. It seems to me clear that he does admit trisyllabic feet into his blank verse, but I do not think that the trisyllabic element is very great. *Trisyllabic variations*

¹ They occur rarely in the first foot, most commonly in the fourth

² *P L* i. 133

³ *IX*. xii

⁴ *VI* 912

⁵ Note that *Heaven* is constantly treated as a monosyllable; cf even the *prose* draft of *Adam unparadis'd*, line 3 (p xxxviii). Another important because frequent abbreviation occurs with *spirit*, which is often monosyllabic, cf the form *sprite*

⁶ *III* 9

⁷ *I* 170

I believe, rather, that many apparently trisyllabic feet were really meant by him to be dissyllabic and must be scanned as such by the application of one or other of the two principles of *elision*¹ and *contraction*

Elision comprehends not merely the cases where a vowel or syllable must be dropped altogether in pronunciation, but those numerous cases where the metre shows that a vowel or syllable possesses *something* less than its normal quantitative value, so that it is either slurred, or made almost to coalesce with a preceding or succeeding sound. Here are the commoner elisions

*Elisions in
Milton's blank
verse*

(i) "Syllables," says Dr Abbott², "ending in vowels are frequently elided before vowels in reading, though not in writing" This applies largely to monosyllables—prepositions, pronouns, adverbs, and, in particular, the definite article. It explains the scansion of lines like

"To sound at general doom The angelic blast"³

"Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsaf'st"⁴

"Thou lead'st me, and to the band of Heaven submit"⁵

(ii) An unaccented vowel preceding an accented vowel or diphthong may be elided—in poetry as in colloquial speech. This applies to substantival endings such as *ience*, *ion*—cf 'patience,' 'visitation', and to adjectival endings such as *ial*,

¹ For instance an apparent anapest (—) may often be resolved by elision into an iambus (—), or a dactyl (—) into a trochee (—). Thus in the line "Thorns also and thistles it shall bring forth," if we elide (as I should) the open vowel *o* in 'also' before the following vowel we get an iambus in the second foot—"Thorns al[s(o) and this{tles", and applying the same principle to the line "Onl(y) in | a bottom saw a pleasant grove," we get a trochee in the first foot. Yet, according to Dr Masson, who rejects such elisions, the former of these two feet is an anapest and the latter a dactyl

² *Shakespearian Grammar*, p 344

³ xi 76 The elision in these cases is indicated by the autograph manuscripts of Milton's poems, thus in the *Lycidas* MS line 33 reads—"Temper'd to th' orten flute" If Milton elided 'the' in *Lycidas*, we may suppose that he did so in *P L*

⁴ xi 170

⁵ xi 372

zant, ious, cious—cf 'ambrosial,' 'radiant,' 'tedious,' 'bounteous' Such elisions belong to the currency of every-day speech, and scarce need comment They are, obviously, very numerous

(iii) Similarly, an unaccented vowel or syllable following an accented vowel or diphthong may be elided this applies to words like 'power,' 'flower'—'piety,' 'fiery'—and participles such as 'seeing,' 'being,' 'flying' It clears up the scansion in

"Is piety thus | and pure devotion paid¹?"

"Then through | the fiery pillar and the cloud²"

"Half flying |, behoves | him now both oar and sail³"

"He ceased |, and the Archangelic power | prepared⁴"

(iv) The elision of an unaccented vowel followed by pure *r* is common in Shakespeare and Milton, the combination *er*⁵ is most affected thus, especially in participles, e.g. 'glistening,' 'suffering,' 'differing' So in 'reverence,' 'feverous,' 'temperance', and in the combinations *or* and *ur*—cf 'pastoral,' 'amorous,' 'unnatural,' 'disfiguring' Shakespeare and Milton extend the practice to double vowels, as in 'conqueror' (cf *Julius Cæsar* v 5 55) and 'neighbouring' (cf *Henry IV* III 1 90) Many words come under this system

(v) Mr Bridges notes that a similar elision occurs when an unaccented vowel is followed by pure *l*—as in 'popular,' 'populous'—or even by *ll*,

(vi) and also before *n*—especially with adjectives like 'luminous,' 'omnious⁶,' and participles like 'reasoning,' 'loosening' (cf *P L* VI 643), 'enlightening⁷' The abbreviation of participles thus has become almost the current rule

Contraction plays a great part in Milton's scansion Four contractions of the inflections of verbs are specially noticeable and important, these being —(1) the '*st*' *Contractions*

¹ *LI* 452

² *XII* 208

³ *II* 942

⁴ *XI* 126

⁵ Cf again the *Lycidas* MS, where we have such elided forms as *watrive*=watery, 12, *westring*=westering, 31, and *wandring* in the *Comus* MS, 39, and *toured* in the *Arcades* MS, 21 With these examples before us it is easy to see how Milton scanned, say, *P L* *LI* 779, "Wandering that watery desert, I had hope"

⁶ Cf *II* 123.

⁷ Cf *batning*=battening, *Lycidas* MS, 29

of the 2nd person singular, indicative present, (ii) the 'd of the perfect; (iii) the 'd of the past participle, (iv) and the 'n of the past participle, as in 'fall'n'='fallen', 'giv'n'='given' &c. Any one who has studied the MSS. of Milton's poems will have observed how careful he is to omit the vowel where the scansion requires the contracted form. Thus, to take the first of these contractions, in the autograph (among the Trinity papers) of the *Sonnet* addressed to Henry Lawes, we find such examples as "Thou honour'st vers," "to honour thee that tun'st thir happiest lines", and instances might be multiplied. Indeed, Milton sometimes uses the contracted form when the effect seems distinctly awkward. Again, on the first page of the *Lycidas* MS we meet with participial abbreviations like 'forc't' (4), 'destin'd' (20), 'nur'st' (23), 'stoop't' (31), and perfects like 'danc't' (34), 'lov'd' (36), 'clos'd' (51). Even in prose Milton appears to have employed the abbreviated no less readily than the full forms. Compare the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*.

That these methods—perfectly regular methods—of contraction² affect the scansion of an enormous number of lines, each can verify for himself, and I think that most students of *Paradise Lost* will come to the conclusion that the iambic rhythm forms the basis of Milton's blank verse. This rhythm is varied, however, (1) by the admission of feet other than iambi, and (2) by the distribution of the pauses³.

One peculiarity of the metre of *Paradise Lost*, pointed out by Coleridge, is the rarity of verses with an extra syllable (or two extra syllables) at the close. *Verus with an extra syllable* Shakespeare uses them freely—especially in his later plays, and the percentage of them in *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes* is high. But in *Paradise Lost* Milton avoids them

¹ Spelt *faln* in one of the *prose* sketches (*Isaac redeemed*) among the Trinity MSS. So in line 2 of the second *Sonnet* the MS. has *steline*.

² Contractions such as *den*=*even*, *der*=*ever*, *o'er*=*over* scarcely require comment, *whether*=*wh'er* (i.e. monosyllabic) is more noticeable.

³ Cf. Milton's own phrase "*Variously drawn out*" (*Preface* on "The Verse" of *Paradise Lost*).

There are several varieties of this extra-syllable verse—e.g. lines where (i) the supernumerary syllable comes at the close, (ii) where it comes in the course of the line, particularly after the second foot, (iii) where there are two extra syllables at the end, as in the line, "Like one | that means | his proper harm | in *mánacles*" (*Coriolanus* I 9 57), and (iv) where there are two extra syllables in the middle, as in *Coriolanus*, I 1 230, "Our musty superfluous | See our | best elders" In *Comus* there are examples of all four varieties in *Paradise Lost* of only two¹—(i) and (iii) This is a fresh illustration of what we have just seen—that the metre of the epic is mainly iambic, and consequently decasyllabic in character Such verse has a slower, statelier movement, and is therefore appropriate to a narrative poem that deals with the loftiest themes in an elevated, solemn style Verse, on the other hand, that admits the supernumerary syllable at the close of the line tends towards a conversational rapidity of rhythm which makes it suitable for the purposes of the dramatist It is typical of Milton's "inevitable," almost infallible, art that he should vary his style according to the several characteristics and requirements of the drama and of epic narration

As he lays such stress upon the internal economy and balance of his verse-paragraphs, much must depend on the pause or rest which in English *The pause or* prosody answers, to some extent, to the classical *cæsura*. Dr Masson notes that Milton's favourite pause is at the end of the third foot. These are typical specimens.

"I, at first, with two fair gifts
Created him endowed | —with happiness
And immortality, | that fondly lost,
This other served but to eternize woe,
Till I provided death | so death becomes
His final remedy² " |

¹ In most of the cases of *one* extra syllable it is a present participle that is affected I believe that the cases with *two* such syllables are—in Milton—confined to words like *society*, cf *P R* I 302, "Such solitude before choicest *society*"

Next in frequency comes the pause after the second foot, cf

"ere fallen

From innocence¹ |

"Made one with me, | as I with thee am one"²

Scarcely need we say that in this, as in everything else, Milton never forgets that variety of effect is essential

It remains to note two remarks made by Milton in his preface on *The Verse*. One of the elements, he says, of "true musical delight" is "fit quantity of syllables". By this, I think, he meant that every word should bear its *natural* accent, i.e. that a word should not be forced by the exigence of the metre to bear an accent alien to it. Rather, a poet should be careful to "span with just note and accent³," so that each stress should fall naturally, and the "fit quantity" of the component parts of a line not be violated. Considering the length of *Paradise Lost*, it is marvellous how he maintains an unfaltering appropriateness of accent. Again, another element of the pleasure offered by poetry lies in "apt numbers". Here he referred to that adaptation of rhythm to subject whereby the sound becomes an echo to the sense. No one has understood the art of blending the thought with its expression better than Milton. "What other poets effect," says Dr Guest⁴, "as it were by chance, Milton achieved by the aid of science and art, he studied the aptness of his numbers, and diligently tutored an ear which nature had gifted with the most delicate sensibility. In the flow of his rhythm, in the quality of his letter sounds, in the disposition of his pauses, his verse almost ever fits the subject, and so insensibly does poetry blend with this—the last beauty of exquisite versification—that the reader may sometimes doubt whether it be the thought itself, or merely the happiness of its expression, which is the source of a gratification so deeply felt"

¹ XI 30

³ *Sonnet* to Henry Lawes

² XI 44

⁴ *English Rhythms*, p 530

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IX

THE ARGUMENT

Satan, having compassed the Earth, with meditated guile returns as a mist by night into Paradise, enters into the Serpent sleeping Adam and Eve in the morning go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart Adam consents not, alleging the danger, lest that enemy, of whom they were forewarned, should attempt her found alone Eve, loth to be thought not circumspect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desirous to make trial of her strength, Adam at last yields The Serpent finds her alone his subtle approach, first gazing, then speaking, with much flattery extolling Eve above all other creatures Eve, wondering to hear the Serpent speak, asks how he attained to human speech and such understanding, not till now, the Serpent answers, that by tasting of a certain tree in the garden he attained both to speech and reason, till then void of both Eve requires him to bring her to that tree, and finds it to be the Tree of Knowledge forbidden The Serpent, now grown bolder, with many wiles and arguments induces her at length to eat, she, pleased with the taste, deliberates a while whether to impart thereof to Adam or not, at last brings him of the fruit, relates what persuaded her to eat thereof Adam, at first amazed, but perceiving her lost, resolves through vehemence of love to perish with her, and, extenuating the trespass, eats also of the fruit The effects thereof in them both, they seek to cover their nakedness, then fall to variance and accusation of one another

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IX

N O more of talk where God or Angel-guest
With Man, as with his friend, familiar used
To sit indulgent, and with him partake
Rural repast, permitting him the while
Venial discourse unblamed I now must change
Those notes to tragic, foul distrust and breach
Disloyal on the part of man, revolt
And disobedience, on the part of Heaven,
Now alienated, distance and distaste,
Anger and just rebuke, and judgment given, 10
That brought into this World a world of woe,
Sin and her shadow Death, and Misery,
Death's harbinger Sad task! yet argument
Not less but more heroic than the wrath
Of stern Achilles on his foe pursued
Thrice fugitive about Troy wall, or rage
Of Turnus for Lavinia disespoused,
Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that so long
Perplexed the Greek, and Cytherea's son
If answerable style I can obtain 20
Of my celestial patroness, who deigns
Her nightly visitation unimplored,

And dictates to me slumbering, or inspires
Easy my unpremeditated verse,
Since first this subject for heroic song
Pleased me, long choosing and beginning late,
Not sedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deemed, chief mastery to dissect
With long and tedious havoc fabled knights 30
In battles feigned (the better fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
Unsung), or to describe races and games,
Or tilting furniture, imblazoned shields,
Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds,
Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
At joust and tournament, then marshalled feast
Served up in hall with sewers and seneshals.
The skill of artifice or office mean,
Not that which justly gives heroic name 40
To person or to poem Me, of these
Nor skilled nor studious, higher argument
Remains, sufficient of itself to raise
That name, unless an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years, damp my intended wing
Depressed, and much they may, if all be mine,
Not hers who brings it nightly to my ear
The sun was sunk, and after him the star
Of Hesperus, whose office is to bring
Twilight upon the Earth, short arbiter 50
'Twixt day and night, and now from end to end
Night's hemisphere had veiled the horizon round;
When Satan, who late fled before the threats
Of Gabriel out of Eden, now improved
In meditated fraud and malice, bent

On Man's destruction, maugre what might hap
Of heavier on himself, fearless returned.
By night he fled, and at midnight returned
From compassing the Earth, cautious of day,
Since Uriel, regent of the sun, descried 60
His entrance, and forewarned the Cherubim
That kept their watch Thence, full of anguish, driven,
The space of seven continued nights he rode
With darkness, thrice the equinoctial line
He circled, four times crossed the car of Night
From pole to pole, traversing each colure,
On the eighth returned, and on the coast averse
From entrance or cherubic watch by stealth
Found unsuspected way There was a place
(Now not, though sin, not time, first wrought the change) 70
Where Tigris, at the foot of Paradise,
Into a gulf shot under ground, till part
Rose up a fountain by the Tree of Life.
In with the river sunk, and with it rose,
Satan, involved in rising mist, then sought
Where to he hid Sea he had searched and land
From Eden over Pontus, and the pool
Mæotis, up beyond the river Ob,
Downward as far antarctic, and in length
West from Orontes to the ocean barred 80
At Darien, thence to the land where flows
Ganges and Indus Thus the orb he roamed
With narrow search, and with inspection deep
Considered every creature, which of all
Most opportune might serve his wiles, and found
The serpent subtlest beast of all the field
Him, after long debate, irresolute
Of thoughts revolved, his final sentence chose

Fit vessel, fittest imp of fraud, in whom
 To enter, and his dark suggestions hide 90
 From sharpest sight, for in the wily snake
 Whatever sleights none would suspicious mark,
 As from his wit and native subtlety
 Proceeding, which, in other beasts observed,
 Doubt might beget of diabolic power
 Active within beyond the sense of brute
 Thus he resolved, but first from inward grief
 His bursting passion into plaints thus poured
 "O Earth, how like to Heaven, if not preferred
 More justly, seat worthier of Gods, as built 100
 With second thoughts, reforming what was old!
 For what God, after better, worse would build?
 Terrestrial Heaven, danced round by other Heavens
 That shine, yet bear their bright officious lamps,
 Light above light, for thee alone, as seems,
 In thee concentring all their precious beams
 Of sacred influence! As God in Heaven
 Is centre, yet extends to all, so thou
 Centring receiv'st from all those orbs, in thee,
 Not in themselves, all their known virtue appears 110
 Productive in herb, plant, and nobler birth
 Of creatures animate with gradual life
 Of growth, sense, reason, all summed up in Man
 With what delight could I have walked thee round,
 If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange
 Of hill and valley, rivers, woods, and plains,
 Now land, now sea, and shores with forest crowned,
 Rocks, dens, and caves! but I in none of these
 Find place or refuge, and the more I see
 Pleasures about me, so much more I feel
 Torment within me, as from the hateful siege 120

Of contraries; all good to me becomes
Bane, and in Heaven much worse would be my state
But neither here seek I, no, nor in Heaven
To dwell, unless by mastering Heaven's Supreme,
Nor hope to be myself less miserable
By what I seek, but others to make such
As I, though thereby worse to me redound.
For only in destroying I find ease
To my relentless thoughts, and, him destroyed, 130
Or won to what may work his utter loss,
For whom all this was made, all this will soon
Follow, as to him linked in weal or woe,
In woe then, that destruction wide may range!
To me shall be the glory sole among
The infernal Powers, in one day to have marred
What he, Almighty styled, six nights and days
Continued making, and who knows how long
Before had been contriving? though perhaps
Not longer than since I in one night freed 140
From servitude inglorious well nigh half
The Angelic name, and thinner left the throng
Of his adorers He, to be avenged,
And to repair his numbers thus impaired—
Whether such virtue spent of old now failed
More Angels to create, if they at least
Are his created, or to spite us more—
Determined to advance into our room
A creature formed of earth, and him endow,
Exalted from so base original, 150
With Heavenly spoils, our spoils What he decreed
He effected, Man he made, and for him built
Magnificent this World, and Earth his seat,
Him lord pronounced, and, O indignity!

Subjected to his service Angel-wings,
 And flaming ministers to watch and tend
 Their earthy charge Of these the vigilance
 I dread, and, to elude, thus wrapt in mist
 Of midnight vapour glide obscure, and pry
 In every bush and brake, where hap may find 160
 The serpent sleeping, in whose mazy folds
 To hide me, and the dark intent I bring
 O foul descent! that I, who erst contended
 With Gods to sit the highest, am now constrained
 Into a beast, and, mixed with bestial slime,
 This essence to incarnate and imbrute,
 That to the highth of deity aspired!
 But what will not ambition and revenge
 Descend to? Who aspires must down as low
 As high he soared, obnoxious first or last 170
 To basest things Revenge, at first though sweet,
 Bitter ere long back on itself recoils
 Let it, I reck not so it light well aimed
 (Since higher I fall short) on him who next
 Provokes my envy, this new favourite
 Of Heaven, this man of clay, son of despite,
 Whom, us the more to spite, his Maker raised
 From dust spite then with spite is best repaid"
 So saying, through each thicket, dank or dry,
 Like a black mist low-creeping, he held on 180
 His midnight search, where soonest he might find
 The serpent Him fast sleeping soon he found,
 In labyrinth of many a round self-rolled,
 His head the midst, well stored with subtle wiles
 Not yet in horrid shade or dismal den,
 Nor nocent yet, but on the grassy herb,
 Fearless, unfeared, he slept In at his mouth

The Devil entered, and his brutal sense,
 In heart or head, possessing soon inspired
 With act intelligent, but his sleep 190
 Disturbed not, waiting close the approach of morn
 Now, whenas sacred light began to dawn
 In Eden on the humid flowers, that breathed
 Their morning incense, when all things that breathe
 From the Earth's great altar send up silent praise
 To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
 With grateful smell, forth came the human pair,
 And joined their vocal worship to the quire
 Of creatures wanting voice, that done, partake
 The season, prime for sweetest scents and airs, 200
 Then commune how that day they best may ply
 Their growing work, for much their work outgrew
 The hands' dispatch of two, gardening so wide.
 And Eve first to her husband thus began
 "Adam, well may we labour still to dress
 This garden, still to tend plant, herb, and flower,
 Our pleasant task enjoined, but, till more hands
 Aid us, the work under our labour grows,
 Luxurious by restraint what we by day
 Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind, 210
 One night or two with wanton growth derides,
 Tending to wild Thou therefore now advise,
 Or hear what to my mind first thoughts present.
 Let us divide our labours—thou where choice
 Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind
 The woodbine round this arbour, or direct
 The clasping ivy where to climb, while I,
 In yonder spring of roses intermixed
 With myrtle, find what to redress till noon
 For, while so near each other thus all day 220

Our task we choose, what wonder if so near
Looks intervene and smiles, or object new
Casual discourse draw on, which intermits
Our day's work, brought to little, though begun
Early, and the hour of supper comes unearned!"

To whom mild answer Adam thus returned,
"Sole Eve, associate sole, to me beyond
Compare above all living creatures dear!
Well hast thou motioned, well thy thoughts employed
How we might best fulfil the work which here 230
God hath assigned us, nor of me shalt pass
Unpraised, for nothing lovelier can be found
In woman than to study household good,
And good works in her husband to promote.
Yet not so strictly hath our Lord imposed
Labour, as to debar us when we need
Refreshment, whether food, or talk between,
Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse
Of looks and smiles, for smiles from reason flow,
To brute denied, and are of love the food— 240
Love, not the lowest end of human life
For not to irksome toil, but to delight,
He made us, and delight to reason joined
These paths and bowers doubt not but our joint hands
Will keep from wilderness with ease, as wide
As we need walk, till younger hands ere long
Assist us But if much converse perhaps
Thee satiate, to short absence I could yield,
For solitude sometimes is best society,
And short retirement urges sweet return 250
But other doubt possesses me, lest harm
Befall thee severed from me, for thou know'st
What hath been warned us, what malicious foe,

Envyng our happiness, and of his own
Despairing, seeks to work us woe and shame
By sly assault, and somewhere nigh at hand
Watches, no doubt, with greedy hope to find
His wish and best advantage, us asunder,
Hopeless to circumvent us joined, where each
To other speedy aid might lend at need 260
Whether his first design be to withdraw
Our fealty from God, or to disturb
Conjugal love, than which perhaps no bliss
Enjoyed by us excites his envy more,
Or this, or worse, leave not the faithful side
That gave thee being, still shades thee and protects
The wife, where danger or dishonour lurks,
Safest and seemliest by her husband stays,
Who guards her, or with her the worst endures”

To whom the virgin majesty of Eve, 270
As one who loves, and some unkindness meets,
With sweet austere composure thus replied

“Offspring of Heaven and Earth, and all Earth's lord!
That such an enemy we have, who seeks
Our ruin, both by thee informed I learn,
And from the parting Angel overheard,
As in a shady nook I stood behind,
Just then returned at shut of evening flowers
But that thou shouldst my firmness therefore doubt
To God or thee, because we have a foe 280
May tempt it, I expected not to hear
His violence thou fear'st not, being such
As we, not capable of death or pain,
Can either not receive, or can repel
His fraud is then thy fear, which plain infers
Thy equal fear that my firm faith and love

Can by his fraud be shaken or seduced,
Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy breast,
Adam! misthought of her to thee so dear?"

To whom with healing words Adam replied 290

"Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve!

For such thou art, from sin and blame entire,

Not diffident of thee do I dissuade

Thy absence from my sight, but to avoid

The attempt itself, intended by our foe

For he who tempts, though in vain, at least asperses

The tempted with dishonour foul, supposed

Not incorruptible of faith, not proof

Against temptation Thou thyself with scorn

And anger wouldst resent the offered wrong, 300

Though ineffectual found, misdeem not then,

If such affront I labour to avert

From thee alone, which on us both at once

The enemy, though bold, will hardly dare,

Or daring, first on me the assault shall light

Nor thou his malice and false guile contemn—

Subtle he needs must be, who could seduce

Angels—nor think superfluous others' aid

I from the influence of thy looks receive

Access in every virtue, in thy sight 310

More wise, more watchful, stronger, if need were

Of outward strength, while shame, thou looking on,

Shame to be overcome or overreached,

Would utmost vigour raise, and raised unite

Why shouldst not thou like sense within thee feel

When I am present, and thy trial choose

With me, best witness of thy virtue tried?"

So spake domestic Adam in his care

And matrimonial love, but Eve, who thought

Less attributed to her faith sincere,
Thus her reply with accent sweet renewed.

320

“If this be our condition thus to dwell
In narrow circuit straitened by a foe,
Subtle or violent, we not endued
Single with like defence wherever met,
How are we happy, still in fear of harm?
But harm precedes not sin: only our foe
Tempting affronts us with his foul esteem
Of our integrity; his foul esteem
Sticks no dishonour on our front, but turns
Foul on himself, then wherefore shunned or feared
By us? who rather double honour gain
From his surmise proved false, find peace within,
Favour from Heaven, our witness, from the event
And what is faith, love, virtue, unassayed
Alone, without exterior help sustained?
Let us not then suspect our happy state
Left so imperfect by the Maker wise,
As not secure to single or combined
Frail is our happiness, if this be so,
And Eden were no Eden, thus exposed”

330

340

To whom thus Adam fervently replied
“O Woman, best are all things as the will
Of God ordained them, his creating hand
Nothing imperfect or deficient left
Of all that he created, much less Man,
Or aught that might his happy state secure,
Secure from outward force within himself
The danger lies, yet lies within his power,
Against his will he can receive no harm
But God left free the will, for what obeys
Reason is free, and Reason he made right,

350

But bid her well be ware, and still erect,
Lest, by some fair appearing good surprised,
She dictate false, and misinform the will
To do what God expressly hath forbid
Not then mistrust, but tender love, enjoins
That I should mind thee oft, and mind thou me
Firm we subsist, yet possible to swerve,
Since Reason not impossibly may meet 360
Some specious object by the foe suborned,
And fall into deception unaware,
Not keeping strictest watch, as she was warned
Seek not temptation then, which to avoid
Were better, and most likely if from me
Thou sever not trial will come unsought
Wouldst thou approve thy constancy, approve
First thy obedience, the other who can know,
Not seeing thee attempted, who attest?
But if thou think trial unsought may find 370
Us both securer than thus warned thou seem'st,
Go, for thy stay, not free, absents thee more,
Go in thy native innocence, rely
On what thou hast of virtue, summon all,
For God towards thee hath done his part, do thine"
So spake the patriarch of mankind, but Eve
Persisted, yet submiss, though last, replied
"With thy permission then, and thus forewarned,
Chiefly by what thine own last reasoning words
Touched only, that our trial, when least sought, 380
May find us both perhaps far less prepared,
The willinger I go, nor much expect
A foe so proud will first the weaker seek,
So bent, the more shall shame him his repulse"
Thus saying, from her husband's hand her hand

Soft she withdrew, and like a wood-nymph light,
 Orcaid or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
 Betook her to the groves, but Delia's self
 In gait surpassed and goddess-like deport,
 Though not as she with bow and quiver armed, 390
 But with such gardening tools as art, yet rude,
 Guiltless of fire, had formed, or Angels brought
 To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorned,
 Likest she seemed—Pomona when she fled
 Vertumnus—or to Ceres in her prime,
 Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove.
 Her long with ardent look his eye pursued
 Delighted, but desiring more her stay.
 Oft he to her his charge of quick return
 Repeated, she to him as oft engaged 400
 To be returned by noon amid the bower,
 And all things in best order to invite
 Noontide repast, or afternoon's repose
 O much deceived, much failing, hapless Eve,
 Of thy presumed return! event perverse!
 Thou never from that hour in Paradise
 Found'st either sweet repast or sound repose,
 Such ambush, hid among sweet flowers and shades,
 Waited with hellish rancour imminent
 To intercept thy way, or send thee back 410
 Despoiled of innocence, of faith, of bliss

For now, and since first break of dawn, the Fiend,
 Mere serpent in appearance, forth was come,
 And on his quest, where likeliest he might find
 The only two of mankind, but in them
 The whole included race, his purposed prey
 In bower and field he sought, where any tuft
 Of grove or garden-plot more pleasant lay,

Their tendance or plantation for delight,
By fountain or by shady rivulet 420
He sought them both, but wished his hap might find
Eve separate, he wished, but not with hope
Of what so seldom chanced; when to his wish,
Beyond his hope, Eve separate he spies,
Veiled in a cloud of fragrance, where she stood,
Half-spied, so thick the roses bushing round
About her glowed, oft stooping to support
Each flower of tender stalk, whose head, though gay
Carnation, purple, azure, or specked with gold,
Hung drooping unsustained them she upstays 430
Gently with myrtle band, mindless the while
Herself, though fairest unsupported flower,
From her best prop so far, and storm so nigh
Nearer he drew, and many a walk traversed
Of statehest covert, cedar, pine, or palm,
Then voluble and bold, now hid, now seen,
Among thick-woven arborets, and flowers
Imbordered on each bank, the hand of Eve
Spot more delicious than those gardens feigned
Or of revived Adonis, or renowned 440
Alcinous, host of old Laertes' son,
Or that, not mystic, where the sapient king
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse
Much he the place admired, the person more.
As one who, long in populous city pent,
Where houses thick and sewers annoy the air,
Forth issuing on a summer's morn to breathe
Among the pleasant villages and farms
Adjoined, from each thing met conceives delight—
The smell of grain, or tedded grass, or lene, 450
Or dairy, each rural sight, each rural sound,

If chance with nymph-like step fair virgin pass,
 What pleasing seemed, for her now pleases more,
 She most, and in her look sums all delight.
 Such pleasure took the Serpent to behold
 This flowery plat, the sweet recess of Eve
 Thus early, thus alone Her heavenly form
 Angelic, but more soft and feminine,
 Her graceful innocence, her every air
 Of gesture or least action, overawed 460
 His malice, and with rapine sweet bereaved
 His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought
 'That space the Evil One abstracted stood
 From his own evil, and for the time remained
 Stupidly good, of enmity disarmed,
 Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge
 But the hot hell that always in him burns,
 'Though in mid Heaven, soon ended his delight,
 And tortures him now more, the more he sees
 Of pleasure not for him ordained, then soon 470
 Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
 Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites.

"Thoughts, whither have ye led me? with what sweet
 Compulsion thus transported to forget
 What hither brought us? hate, not love, nor hope
 Of Paradise for Hell, hope here to taste
 Of pleasure, but all pleasure to destroy,
 Save what is in destroying; other joy
 To me is lost Then let me not let pass
 Occasion which now smiles. behold alone 480
 The woman, opportune to all attempts,
 Her husband, for I view far round, not nigh,
 Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
 And strength, of courage haughty, and of limb

Heroic built, though of terrestrial mould,
 Foe not formidable, exempt from wound,
 I not, so much hath Hell debased, and pain
 Enfeebled me, to what I was in Heaven
 She fair, divinely fair, fit love for Gods,
 Not terrible, though terror be in love
 And beauty, not approached by stronger hate,
 Hate stronger under show of love well feigned—
 The way which to her ruin now I tend”

490

So spake the Enemy of mankind, enclosed
 In serpent, inmate bad, and toward Eve
 Addressed his way—not with indented wave,
 Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,
 Circular base of rising folds, that towered
 Fold above fold, a surging maze, his head
 Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes,
 With burnished neck of verdant gold, erect
 Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass
 Floated redundant Pleasing was his shape
 And lovely, never since of serpent kind
 Lovelier, not those that in Illyria changed
 Hermione and Cadmus, or the god
 In Epidaurus, nor to which transformed
 Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline, was seen,
 He with Olympias, this with her who bore
 Scipio, the highth of Rome. With tract oblique
 At first, as one who sought access but feared
 To interrupt, sidelong he works his way
 As when a ship by skilful steersman wrought
 Nigh river's mouth or foreland, where the wind
 Veers oft, as oft so steers, and shifts her sail:
 So varied he, and of his tortuous train
 Curled many a wanton wreath in sight of Eve,

500

510

To lure her eye, she, busied, heard the sound
 Of rustling leaves, but minded not, as used
 To such disport before her through the field, 520
 From every beast, more duteous at her call,
 Than at Circean call the herd disguised
 He, bolder now, uncalled before her stood,
 But as in gaze admiring Oft he bowed
 His turret crest, and sleek enamelled neck,
 Fawning, and licked the ground whereon she trod
 His gentle dumb expression turned at length
 The eye of Eve to mark his play, he, glad
 Of her attention gained, with serpent-tongue
 Organic, or impulse of vocal air, 530
 His fraudulent temptation thus began

"Wonder not, sovran mistress, if perhaps
 Thou canst who art sole wonder; much less arm
 Thy looks, the heaven of mildness, with disdain,
 Displeased that I approach thee thus, and gaze
 Insatiate, I thus single, nor have feared
 Thy awful brow, more awful thus retired
 Fairest resemblance of thy Maker fair,
 Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine
 By gift, and thy celestial beauty adore, 540
 With ravishment beheld—there best beheld
 Where universally admired, but here
 In this enclosure wild, these beasts among,
 Beholders rude, and shallow to discern
 Half what in thee is fair, one man except,
 Who sees thee? (and what is one?) who shouldst be seen
 A Goddess among Gods adored and served
 By Angels numberless, thy daily train "

So glozed the Tempter, and his proem tuned,
 Into the heart of Eve his words made way, 550

Though at the voice much marvelling, at length,
Not unamazed, she thus in answer spake.

“What may this mean? Language of Man pronounced
By tongue of brute, and human sense expressed !
The first at least of these I thought denied
To beasts, whom God on their creation day
Created mute to all articulate sound,
The latter I demur, for in their looks
Much reason, and in their actions, oft appears
Thee, Serpent, subtlest beast of all the field 560
I knew, but not with human voice endued,
Redouble then this miracle, and say,
How cam'st thou speakable of mute, and how
To me so friendly grown above the rest
Of brutal kind, that daily are in sight.
Say, for such wonder claims attention due.”

To whom the guileful Tempter thus replied:
“Empress of this fair World, resplendent Eve!
Easy to me it is to tell thee all
What thou command'st, and right thou shouldst be
obey'd 570

I was at first as other beasts that graze
The trodden herb, of abject thoughts and low,
As was my food, nor aught but food discerned
Or sex, and apprehended nothing high
Till on a day, roving the field, I chanced
A goodly tree far distant to behold,
Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mixed,
Ruddy and gold I nearer drew to gaze,
When from the boughs a savoury odour blown,
Grateful to appetite, more pleased my sense 580
Than smell of sweetest fennel, or the teats
Of ewe or goat dropping with milk at even,

Unsucked of lamb or kid, that tend their play.
 To satisfy the sharp desire I had
 Of tasting those fair apples, I resolved
 Not to defer, hunger and thirst at once,
 Powerful persuaders, quickened at the scent
 Of that alluring fruit, urged me so keen
 About the mossy trunk I wound me soon,
 For, high from ground, the branches would require 590
 Thy utmost reach or Adam's round the tree
 All other beasts that saw, with like desire
 Longing and envying stood, but could not reach
 Amid the tree now got, where plenty hung
 Tempting so nigh, to pluck and eat my fill
 I spared not, for such pleasure till that hour
 At feed or fountain never had I found
 Sated at length, ere long I might perceive
 Strange alteration in me, to degree
 Of reason in my inward powers, and speech 600
 Wanted not long, though to this shape retained
 Thenceforth to speculations high or deep
 I turned my thoughts, and with capacious mind
 Considered all things visible in Heaven,
 Or Earth, or middle, all things fair and good
 But all that fair and good in thy divine
 Semblance, and in thy beauty's heavenly ray,
 United I beheld, no fair to thine
 Equivalent or second, which compelled
 Me thus, though importune perhaps, to come 610
 And gaze, and worship thee of right declared
 Sovran of creatures, universal Dame!"

So talked the spirited sly Snake, and Eve,
 Yet more amazed, unwary thus replied

"Serpent, thy overpraising leaves in doubt

The virtue of that fruit, in thee first proved
But say, where grows the tree? from hence how far?
For many are the trees of God that grow
In Paradise, and various, yet unknown
To us, in such abundance lies our choice, 620
As leaves a greater store of fruit untouched,
Still hanging incorruptible, till men
Grow up to their provision, and more hands
Help to disburden Nature of her birth "

To whom the wily Adder, blithe and glad
"Empress, the way is ready, and not long,
Beyond a row of myrtles, on a flat,
Fast by a fountain, one small thicket past
Of blowing myrrh and balm. if thou accept
My conduct, I can bring thee thither soon " 630

"Lead then," said Eve He leading swiftly rolled
In tangles, and made intricate seem straight,
To mischief swift Hope elevates, and joy
Brightens his crest As when a wandering fire,
Compact of unctuous vapour, which the night
Condenses, and the cold environs round,
Kindled through agitation to a flame
(Which oft, they say, some evil spirit attends),
Hovering and blazing with delusive light,
Misleads the amazed night-wanderer from his way 640
To bogs and mires, and oft through pond or pool,
There swallowed up and lost, from succour far
So glistened the dire Snake, and into fraud
Led Eve, our credulous mother, to the Tree
Of prohibition, root of all our woe,
Which when she saw, thus to her guide she spake.
"Serpent, we might have spared our coming hither,
Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to excess,

The credit of whose virtue rest with thee;
Wondrous indeed, if cause of such effects !
But of this tree we may not taste nor touch ,
God so commanded, and left that command
Sole daughter of his voice the rest, we live
Law to ourselves, our reason is our law ”
650

To whom the Tempter guilefully replied :
“ Indeed? Hath God then said that of the fruit
Of all these garden-trees ye shall not eat,
Yet lords declared of all in Earth or air? ”

To whom thus Eve, yet sinless: “ Of the fruit
Of each tree in the garden we may eat, 660
But of the fruit of this fair tree amidst
The garden, God hath said, ‘ Ye shall not eat
Thereof, nor shall ye touch it, lest ye die ’ ”

She scarce had said, though brief, when now more bold
The Tempter, but with show of zeal and love
To Man, and indignation at his wrong,
New part puts on, and, as to passion moved,
Fluctuates disturbed, yet comely, and in act
Raised, as of some great matter to begin
As when of old some orator renowned 670
In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence
Flourished, since mute, to some great cause addressed,
Stood in himself collected, while each part,
Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue,
Sometimes in highth began, as no delay
Of preface brooking through his zeal of right.
So standing, moving, or to highth upgrown,
The Tempter, all impassioned, thus began

“ O sacred, wise, and wisdom-giving Plant,
Mother of science! now I feel thy power 680
Within me clear, not only to discern

Things in their causes, but to trace the ways
Of highest agents, deemed however wise.
Queen of this Universe! do not believe
Those rigid threats of death Ye shall not die.
How should ye? by the fruit? it gives you life
To knowledge, by the threatener? look on me,
Me who have touched and tasted, yet both live,
And life more perfect have attained than Fate
Meant me, by venturing higher than my lot
Shall that be shut to Man which to the beast
Is open? or will God incense his ire
For such a petty trespass, and not praise
Rather your dauntless virtue, whom the pain
Of death denounced, whatever thing death be,
Deterred not from achieving what might lead
To happier life, knowledge of good and evil?
Of good, how just! of evil—if what is evil
Be real, why not known, since easier shunned?
God therefore cannot hurt ye, and be just,
Not just, not God, not feared then, nor obeyed
Your fear itself of death removes the fear
Why then was this forbid? Why but to awe,
Why but to keep ye low and ignorant,
His worshippers? He knows that in the day
Ye eat thereof, your eyes that seem so clear,
Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
Opened and cleared, and ye shall be as Gods,
Knowing both good and evil, as they know
That ye should be as Gods, since I as Man,
Internal Man, is but proportion meet
I, of brute, human, ye, of human, Gods
So ye shall die perhaps, by putting off
Human, to put on Gods, death to be wished,

690

700

710

Though threatened, which no worse than this can bring !
And what are Gods, that Man may not become
As they, participating godlike food ?

The Gods are first, and that advantage use
On our belief, that all from them proceeds :

I question it ; for this fair Earth I see, 720

Warmed by the sun, producing every kind,
Them nothing · if they all things, who enclosed
Knowledge of good and evil in this tree,
That whoso eats thereof forthwith attains
Wisdom without their leave ? and wherein lies
The offence, that Man should thus attain to know ?
What can your knowledge hurt him, or this tree
Impart against his will, if all be his ?

Or is it envy ? and can envy dwell
In Heavenly breasts ? These, these and many more 730
Causes import your need of this fair fruit
Goddess humane, reach then, and freely taste ! ”

He ended, and his words, replete with gule,
Into her heart too easy entrance won.
Fixed on the fruit she gazed, which to behold
Might tempt alone, and in her ears the sound
Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregned
With reason, to her seeming, and with truth.
Meanwhile the hour of noon drew on, and waked
An eager appetite, raised by the smell 740
So savoury of that fruit, which with desire,
Inclinable now grown to touch or taste,
Solicited her longing eye, yet first,
Pausing a while, thus to herself she mused .

“ Great are thy virtues, doubtless, best of fruits,
Though kept from Man, and worthy to be admired,
Whose taste, too long forborne, at first assay

Gave elocution to the mute, and taught
 The tongue not made for speech to speak thy praise
 Thy praise he also who forbids thy use 750
 Conceals not from us, naming thee the Tree
 Of Knowledge, knowledge both of good and evil,
 Forbids us then to taste, but his forbidding
 Commends thee more, while it infers the good
 By thee communicated, and our want,
 For good unknown sure is not had, or had,
 And yet unknown, is as not had at all
 In plain then, what forbids he but to know?
 Forbids us good, forbids us to be wise!
 Such prohibitions bind not But if death 760
 Bind us with after-bands, what profits then
 Our inward freedom? In the day we eat
 Of this fair fruit, our doom is, we shall die!
 How dies the Serpent? He hath eaten and lives,
 And knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns,
 Irrational till then For us alone
 Was death invented? or to us denied
 This intellectual food, for beasts reserved?
 For beasts it seems, yet that one beast which first
 Hath tasted envies not, but brings with joy 770
 The good befallen him, author unsuspect,
 Friendly to Man, far from deceit or guile
 What fear I then? rather, what know to fear
 Under this ignorance of good and evil,
 Of God or death, of law or penalty?
 Here grows the cure of all, this fruit divine,
 Fair to the eye, inviting to the taste,
 Of virtue to make wise what hinders then
 To reach, and feed at once both body and mind?"
 So saying, her rash hand in evil hour 780

Forth reaching to the fruit, she plucked, she eat.
 Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat,
 Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
 That all was lost Back to the thicket slunk
 The guilty Serpent, and well might, for Eve,
 Intent now only on her taste, naught else
 Regarded, such delight till then, as seemed,
 In fruit she never tasted, whether true,
 Or fancied so through expectation high
 Of knowledge, nor was Godhead from her thought 790
 Greedily she ingorged without restraint,
 And knew not eating death Satiated at length,
 And hightened as with wine, jocund and boon,
 Thus to herself she pleasingly began

"O sovran, virtuous, precious of all trees
 In Paradise! of operation blest
 To sapience, hitherto obscured, infamed,
 And thy fair fruit let hang, as to no end
 Created! but henceforth my early care,
 Not without song, each morning, and due praise, 800
 Shall tend thee, and the fertile burden ease
 Of thy full branches, offered free to all,
 Till, dieted by thee, I grow mature
 In knowledge, as the Gods who all things know,
 Though others envy what they cannot give—
 For, had the gift been theirs, it had not here
 Thus grown! Experience, next to thee I owe,
 Best guide not following thee, I had remained
 In ignorance. thou open'st Wisdom's way,
 And giv'st access, though secret she retire 810
 And I perhaps am secret, Heaven is high,
 High, and remote to see from thence distinct
 Each thing on Earth, and other care perhaps

May have diverted from continual watch
Our great Forbidder, safe with all his spies
About him But to Adam in what sort
Shall I appear? Shall I to him make known
As yet my change, and give him to partake
Full happiness with me, or rather not,
But keep the odds of knowledge in my power 820
Without copartner? so to add what wants
In female sex, the more to draw his love,
And render me more equal, and perhaps,
A thing not undesirable, sometime
Superior, for, inferior, who is free?
This may be well but what if God have seen,
And death ensue? then I shall be no more,
And Adam, wedded to another Eve,
Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct!
A death to think! Confirmed then I resolve, 830
Adam shall share with me in bliss or woe
So dear I love him, that with him all deaths
I could endure, without him live no life"

So saying, from the tree her step she turned,
But first low reverence done, as to the Power
That dwelt within, whose presence had infused
Into the plant sciential sap, derived
From nectar, drink of Gods Adam the while,
Waiting desirous her return, had wove
Of choicest flowers a garland, to adorn 840
Her tresses, and her rural labours crown,
As reapers oft are wont their harvest queen
Great joy he promised to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return, so long delayed,
Yet oft his heart, divine of something ill,
Mistake him, he the faltering measure felt,

And forth to meet her went, the way she took
That morn when first they parted By the Tree
Of Knowledge he must pass, there he her met,
Scarce from the tree returning, in her hand 850
A bough of fairest fruit, that downy smiled,
New gathered, and ambrosial smell diffused.
To him she hasted; in her face excuse
Came prologue, and apology to prompt,
Which, with bland words at will, she thus addressed.

"Hast thou not wondered, Adam, at my stay?
Thee I have missed, and thought it long, deprived
Thy presence—agony of love till now
Not felt, nor shall be twice, for never more 860
Mean I to try, what rash untried I sought,
The pain of absence from thy sight But strange
Hath been the cause, and wonderful to hear
This tree is not, as we are told, a tree
Of danger tasted, nor to evil unknown
Opening the way, but of divine effect
To open eyes, and make them Gods who taste,
And hath been tasted such The Serpent wise,
Or not restrained as we, or not obeying,
Hath eaten of the fruit, and is become,
Not dead, as we are threatened, but thenceforth 870
Endued with human voice and human sense,
Reasoning to admiration, and with me
Persuasively hath so prevailed, that I
Have also tasted, and have also found
The effects to correspond—opener mine eyes,
Dim erst, dilated spirits, ampler heart,
And growing up to Godhead, which for thee
Chiefly I sought, without thee can despise
For bliss, as thou hast part, to me is bliss,

Tedious, unshared with thee, and odious soon 880
Thou therefore also taste, that equal lot
May join us, equal joy, as equal love,
Lest, thou not tasting, different degree
Disjoin us, and I then too late renounce
Deity for thee, when fate will not permit "

Thus Eve with countenance blithe her story told;
But in her cheek distemper flushing glowed
On the other side, Adam, soon as he heard
The fatal trespass done by Eve, amazed,
Astomied stood and blank, while horror chill 890
Ran through his veins, and all his joints relaxed,
From his slack hand the garland wreathed for Eve
Down dropt, and all the faded roses shed
Speechless he stood and pale, till thus at length
First to himself he inward silence broke

"O fairest of creation, last and best
Of all God's works, creature in whom excelled
Whatever can to sight or thought be formed,
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!
How art thou lost! how on a sudden lost, 900
Defaced, deflowered, and now to death devote!
Rather, how hast thou yielded to transgress
The strict forbiddance, how to violate
The sacred fruit forbidden? Some cursed fraud
Of enemy hath beguiled thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruined, for with thee
Certain my resolution is to die
How can I live without thee? how forgo
Thy sweet converse and love so dearly joined,
To live again in these wild woods forlorn? 910
Should God create another Eve, and I
Another rib afford, yet loss of thee

Would never from my heart, no, no! I feel
 The link of nature draw me flesh of flesh,
 Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy state
 Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe"

So having said, as one from sad dismay
 Recomforted, and, after thoughts disturbed,
 Submitting to what seemed remediless,
 Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turned 920

"Bold deed thou hast presumed, adventurous Eve,
 And peril great provoked, who thus hast dared,
 Had it been only coveting to eye
 That sacred fruit, sacred to abstinence,
 Much more to taste it, under ban to touch
 But past who can recall, or done undo?
 Not God Omnipotent, nor Fate! Yet so
 Perhaps thou shalt not die, perhaps the fact
 Is not so heinous now—foretasted fruit,
 Profaned first by the Serpent, by him first 930
 Made common and unhallowed ere our taste,
 Nor yet on him found deadly, he yet lives,
 Lives, as thou saidst, and gains to live, as Man,
 Higher degree of life: inducement strong
 To us, as likely, tasting, to attain
 Proportional ascent, which cannot be
 But to be Gods, or Angels, demi-gods
 Nor can I think that God, Creator wise,
 Though threatening, will in earnest so destroy
 Us his prime creatures, dignified so high, 940
 Set over all his works, which in our fall,
 For us created, needs with us must fail,
 Dependent made, so God shall uncreate,
 Be frustrate, do, undo, and labour lose,
 Not well conceived of God, who, though his power

Creation could repeat, yet would be loth
Us to abolish, lest the Adversary
Triumph and say 'Fickle their state whom God
Most favours, who can please him long? Me first
He ruined, now mankind, whom will he next?' 950
Matter of scorn not to be given the Foe
However, I with thee have fixed my lot,
Certain to undergo like doom if death
Consort with thee, death is to me as life,
So forcible within my heart I feel
The bond of nature draw me to my own,
My own in thee, for what thou art is mine
Our state cannot be severed, we are one,
One flesh, to lose thee were to lose myself"

So Adam, and thus Eve to him replied. 960
"O glorious trial of exceeding love,
Illustrious evidence, example high!
Engaging me to emulate, but, short
Of thy perfection, how shall I attain,
Adam? from whose dear side I boast me sprung,
And gladly of our union hear thee speak,
One heart, one soul in both, whereof good proof
This day affords, declaring thee resolved,
Rather than death, or aught than death more dread,
Shall separate us, linked in love so dear, 970
To undergo with me one guilt, one crime,
If any be, of tasting this fair fruit,
Whose virtue (for of good still good proceeds,
Direct, or by occasion) hath presented
This happy trial of thy love, which else
So eminently never had been known
Were it I thought death menaced would ensue
This my attempt, I would sustain alone

The worst, and not persuade thee, rather die
 Deserted, than oblige thee with a fact 980
 Pernicious to thy peace, chiefly assured
 Remarkably so late of thy so true,
 So faithful love unequalled, but I feel
 Far otherwise the event—not death, but life
 Augmented, opened eyes, new hopes, new joys,
 Taste so divine, that what of sweet before
 Hath touched my sense flat seems to this and harsh
 On my experience, Adam, freely taste,
 And fear of death deliver to the winds”

So saying, she embraced him, and for joy 990
 Tenderly wept, much won that he his love
 Had so ennobled, as of choice to incur
 Divine displeasure for her sake, or death
 In recompense (for such compliance bad
 Such recompense best merits), from the bough
 She gave him of that fair enticing fruit
 With liberal hand, he scrupled not to eat,
 Against his better knowledge, not deceived,
 But fondly overcome with female charm
 Earth trembled from her entrails, as again 1000
 In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan;
 Sky loured, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
 Wept at completing of the mortal sin
 Original, while Adam took no thought,
 Eating his fill, nor Eve to iterate
 Her former trespass feared, the more to soothe
 Him with her loved society, that now,
 As with new wine intoxicated both,
 They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
 Divinity within them breeding wings 1010
 Wherewith to scorn the Earth But that false fruit

Far other operation first displayed,
Carnal desire inflaming he on Eve
Began to cast lascivious eyes, she him
As wantonly repaid, in lust they burn,
Till Adam thus 'gan Eve to dalliance move.

"Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste,
And elegant, of sapience no small part,
Since to each meaning savour we apply,
And palate call judicious I the praise 1020
Yield thee, so well this day thou hast purveyed
Much pleasure we have lost, while we abstained
From this delightful fruit, nor known till now
True relish, tasting, if such pleasure be
In things to us forbidden, it might be wished
For this one tree had been forbidden ten
But come, so well refreshed, now let us play,
As meet is, after such delicious fare,
For never did thy beauty, since the day
I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorned 1030
With all perfections, so inflame my sense
With ardour to enjoy thee, fairer now
Than ever—bounty of this virtuous tree!"

So said he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent, well understood
Of Eve, whose eye darted contagious fire
Her hand he seized, and to a shady bank,
Thick overhead with verdant roof embowered,
He led her, nothing loth, flowers were the couch,
Pansies, and violets, and asphodel, 1040
And hyacinth—Earth's freshest, softest lap
There they their fill of love and love's disport
Took largely, of their mutual guilt the seal,
The solace of their sin, till dewy sleep

Oppressed them, wearied with their amorous play

Soon as the force of that fallacious fruit,
That with exultating vapour bland
About their spirits had played, and inmost powers
Made err, was now exhaled, and grosser sleep,
Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams 1050
Encumbered, now had left them, up they rose
As from unrest, and, each the other viewing,
Soon found their eyes how opened, and their minds
How darkened. Innocence, that as a veil
Had shadowed them from knowing ill, was gone,
Just confidence, and native righteousness,
And honour, from about them, naked left
To guilty Shame: he covered, but his robe
Uncovered more So rose the Danite strong,
Herculean Samson, from the harlot-lap 1060
Of Philistean Dalilah, and wak'd
Shorn of his strength; they destitute and bare
Of all their virtue Silent, and in face
Confounded, long they sat, as stricken mute;
Till Adam, though not less than Eve abashed,
At length gave utterance to these words constrained

“O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear
To that false worm, of whomsoever taught
To counterfeit Man's voice, true in our fall,
False in our promised rising, since our eyes 1070
Opened we find indeed, and find we know
Both good and evil, good lost and evil got:
Bad fruit of knowledge, if this be to know,
Which leaves us naked thus, of honour void,
Of innocence, of faith, of purity,
Our wonted ornaments now soiled and stained,
And in our faces evident the signs

Of foul concupiscence, whence evil store,
 Even shame, the last of evils, of the first
 Be sure then How shall I behold the face 1080
 Henceforth of God or Angel, erst with joy
 And rapture so oft beheld? those Heavenly shapes
 Will dazzle now this earthly with their blaze
 Insufferably bright Oh, might I here
 In solitude live savage, in some glade
 Obscured, where highest woods, impenetrable
 To star or sunlight, spread their umbrage broad,
 And brown as evening! Cover me, ye pines!
 Ye cedars, with innumerable boughs
 Hide me, where I may never see them more! 1090
 But let us now, as in bad plight, devise
 What best may for the present serve to hide
 The parts of each from other that seem most
 To shame obnoxious, and unseemliest seen,
 Some tree, whose broad smooth leaves together sewed,
 And girded on {our loins, may cover round
 Those middle parts, that this new comer, Shame,
 There sit not, and reproach us as unclean"

So counselled he, and both together went
 Into the thickest wood, there soon they chose 1100
 The fig-tree—not that kind for fruit renowned,
 But such as at this day, to Indians known,
 In Malabar or Decan spreads her arms
 Branching so broad and long that in the ground
 The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
 About the mother tree, a pillared shade
 High overarched, and echoing walks between
 There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
 Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
 At loop-holes cut through thickest shade Those leaves 1110

They gathered, broad as Amazonian targe,
 And with what skill they had together sewed,
 To gird their waist, vain covering, if to hide
 Their guilt and dreaded shame! Oh how unlike
 To that first naked glory! Such of late
 Columbus found the American, so girt
 With feathered cincture, naked else and wild
 Among the trees on isles and woody shores
 Thus fenced, and, as they thought, their shame in part
 Covered, but not at rest or ease of mind, 1120
 They sat them down to weep, nor only tears
 Rained at their eyes, but high winds worse within
 Began to rise, high passions, anger, hate,
 Mistrust, suspicion, discord, and shook sore
 Their inward state of mind, calm region once
 And full of peace, now tost and turbulent
 For Understanding ruled not, and the Will
 Heard not her lore, both in subjection now
 To sensual Appetite, who, from beneath
 Usurping over sovran Reason, claimed 1130
 Superior sway From thus distempered breast
 Adam, estranged in look and altered style,
 Speech intermitted thus to Eve renewed.

"Would thou hadst hearkened to my words, and stayed
 With me, as I besought thee, when that strange
 Desire of wandering, this unhappy morn,
 I know not whence possessed thee! we had then
 Remained still happy, not, as now, despoiled
 Of all our good, shamed, naked, miserable!
 Let none henceforth seek needless cause to approve 1140
 The faith they owe, when earnestly they seek
 Such proof, conclude, they then begin to fail"

To whom, soon moved with touch of blame, thus Eve.

"What words have passed thy lips, Adam severe!
 Imput'st thou that to my default, or will
 Of wandering, as thou call'st it, which who knows
 But might as ill have happened, thou being by,
 Or to thyself perhaps? Hadst thou been there,
 Or here the attempt, thou couldst not have discerned
 Fraud in the Serpent, speaking as he spake, 1150
 No ground of enmity between us known,
 Why he should mean me ill, or seek to harm
 Was I to have never parted from thy side?
 As good have grown there still, a lifeless rib
 Being as I am, why didst not thou, the head,
 Command me absolutely not to go,
 Going into such danger, as thou saidst?
 Too facile then, thou didst not much gainsay,
 Nay, didst permit, approve, and fair dismiss
 Hadst thou been firm and fixed in thy dissent, 1160
 Neither had I transgressed, nor thou with me"

To whom, then first incensed, Adam replied
 "Is this the love, is this the recompense
 Of mine to thee, ingrateful Eve, expressed
 Immutable when thou wert lost, not I,
 Who might have lived, and joyed immortal bliss,
 Yet willingly chose rather death with thee?
 And am I now upbraided as the cause
 Of thy transgressing? not enough severe,
 It seems, in thy restraint! What could I more? 1170
 I warned thee, I admonished thee, foretold
 The danger, and the lurking enemy
 That lay in wait, beyond this had been force,
 And force upon free will hath here no place.
 But confidence then bore thee on, secure
 Either to meet no danger, or to find

Matter of glorious trial, and perhaps
I also erred in overmuch admiring
What seemed in thee so perfect, that I thought
No evil durst attempt thee, but I rue
That error now, which is become my crime,
And thou the accuser. Thus it shall befall
Him who, to worth in women overtrusting,
Lest her will rule: restraint she will not brook;
And, left to herself, if evil thence ensue,
She first his weak indulgence will accuse”

1180

Thus they in mutual accusation spent
The fruitless hours, but neither self condemning,
And of their vain contest appeared no end.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK X.

THE ARGUMENT.

Man's transgression known, the guardian Angels forsake Paradise, and return up to Heaven to approve their vigilance, and are approved; God declaring that the entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented. He sends his Son to judge the transgressors, who descends, and gives sentence accordingly, then in pity clothes them both, and reascends. Sin and Death, sitting till then at the gates of Hell, by wondrous sympathy feeling the success of Satan in this new World, and the sin by Man there committed, resolve to sit no longer confined in Hell, but to follow Satan, their sire, up to the place of Man. To make the way easier from Hell to this World to and fro, they pave a broad highway or bridge over Chaos, according to the track that Satan first made, then, preparing for Earth they meet him, proud of his success, returning to Hell, their mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemonium, in full assembly relates, with boasting, his success against Man, instead of applause is entertained with a general hiss by all his audience, transformed, with himself also, suddenly into serpents, according to his doom given in Paradise, then, deluded with a show of the Forbidden Tree springing up before them, they, greedily reaching to take of the fruit, chew dust and bitter ashes. The proceedings of Sin and Death. God foretells the final victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things, but for the present commands his Angels to make several alterations in the heavens and elements. Adam, more and more perceiving his fallen condition, heavily bewails, rejects the condolment of Eve, she persists, and at length appeases him: then, to evade the curse likely to fall on their offspring, proposes to Adam violent ways, which he approves not, but, conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late promise made them, that her seed should be revenged on the Serpent, and exhorts her, with him, to seek peace of the offended Deity by repentance and supplication.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK X.

MEANWHILE the heinous and despicable act
Of Satan done in Paradise, and how
He, in the Serpent, had perverted Eve,
Her husband she, to taste the fatal fruit,
(Was known in Heaven; for what can scape the eye
Of God all-seeing, or deceive his heart
Omniscient? who, in all things wise and just,
Hindered not Satan to attempt the mind
Of Man, with strength entire and free will armed,
Complete to have discovered and repulsed 10
Whatever wiles of foe or seeming friend
For still they knew, and ought to have still remembered,
The high injunction not to taste that fruit,
Whoever tempted, which they not obeying
Incurred (what could they less?) the penalty,
And, manifold in sin, deserved to fall.

Up into Heaven from Paradise in haste
The Angelic guards ascended, mute and sad
For Man, for of his state by this they knew,
Much wondering how the subtle Fiend had stolen 20
Entrance unseen " Soon as the unwelcome news
From Earth arrived at Heaven-gate, displeased

All were who heard, dim sadness did not spare
That time celestial visages, yet, mixed
With pity, violated not their bliss
About the new-arrived, in multitudes,
The ethereal people ran, to hear and know
How all befell They towards the throne supreme
Accountable made haste to make appear
With righteous plea their utmost vigilance,
And easily approved, when the Most High
Eternal Father, from his secret cloud
Amidst, in thunder uttered thus his voice

30

“Assembled Angels, and ye Powers returned
From unsuccessful charge, be not dismayed,
Nor troubled at these tidings from the Earth,
Which your sincerest care could not prevent,
Foretold so lately what would come to pass,
When first this Tempter crossed the gulf from Hell
I told ye then he should prevail and speed
On his bad errand, Man should be seduced
And flattered out of all, believing lies
Against his Maker, no decree of mine
Concurring to necessitate his fall,
Or touch with lightest moment of impulse
His free will, to her own inclining left
In even scale But fallen he is, and now
What rests, but that the mortal sentence pass
On his transgression, death denounced that day?
Which he presumes already vain and void,
Because not yet inflicted, as he feared,
By some immediate stroke, but soon shall find
Forbearance no acquittance ere day end
Justice shall not return, as bounty, scorned
But whom send I to judge them? whom but thee,

40

50

Vicegerent Son? to thee I have transferred
 All judgment, whether in Heaven, or Earth, or Hell.
 Easy it may be seen that I intend
 Mercy colleague with justice, sending thee,
 Man's friend, his Mediator, his designed
 Both ransom and Redeemer voluntary,
 And destined Man himself to judge Man fallen "

60

So spake the Father, and, unfolding bright
 Toward the right hand his glory, on the Son
 Blazed forth unclouded deity, he full
 Resplendent all his Father manifest
 Expressed, and thus divinely answered mild

"Father Eternal, thine is to decree,
 Mine both in Heaven and Earth to do thy will
 Supreme, that thou in me, thy Son beloved,
 May'st ever rest well pleased I go to judge
 On Earth these thy transgressors, but thou know'st,
 Whoever judged, the worst on me must light,
 When time shall be, for so I undertook
 Before thee, and, not repenting, this obtain
 Of right, that I may mitigate their doom
 On me devolved, yet I shall temper so
 Justice with mercy, as may illustrate most
 Them fully satisfied, and thee appease
 Attendance none shall need, nor train, where none
 Are to behold the judgment but the judged,
 Those two, the third best absent is condemned,
 Convict by flight, and rebel to all law
 Conviction to the Serpent none belongs "

70

80

Thus saying, from his radiant seat he rose
 Of high collateral glory, Him Thrones and Powers,
 Princedoms, and Dominations ministrant
 Accompanied to Heaven-gate, from whence

Eden and all the ^{my " "}coast in prospect lay.
 Down he descended straight, the speed of Gods 90
 Time counts not, though with swiftest minutes winged

Now was the sun in western cadence low
 From noon, and gentle airs due at their hour
 To fan the Earth now waked, and usher in
 The evening cool, when he, from wrath more cool,
 Came, the mild Judge and Intercessor both,
 To sentence Man The voice of God they heard
 Now walking in the garden, by soft winds
 Brought to their ears, while day declined, they heard,
 And from his presence hid themselves among 100
 The thickest trees, both man and wife, till God,
 Approaching, thus to Adam called aloud.

"Where art thou, Adam, wont with joy to meet
 My coming seen far off? I miss thee here,
 Not pleased, thus entertained with solitude,
 Where obvious duty crewhile appeared unsought
 Or come I less conspicuous, or what change
 Absents thee, or what chance detains? Come forth "

He came, and with him Eve, more loth, though first
 To offend, discountenanced both, and discomposed, 110
 Love was not in their looks, either to God
 Or to each other, but apparent guilt, ^{in a}
 And shame, and perturbation, and despair,
 Anger, and obstinacy, and hate, and guile
 Whence Adam, faltering long, thus answered brief

"I heard thee in the garden, and of thy voice
 Afraid, being naked, hid myself" To whom
 The gracious Judge without revile replied

"My voice thou oft hast heard, and hast not feared,
 But still rejoiced, how is it now become 120
 So dreadful to thee? That thou art naked, who

Hath told thee? Hast thou eaten of the tree,
Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat?"

To whom thus Adam, sore beset, replied

"O Heaven! in evil strait this day I stand
Before my Judge—either to undergo
Myself the total crime, or to accuse
My other self, the partner of my life,
Whose failing, while her faith to me remains,
I should conceal, and not expose to blame 130
By my complaint, but strict necessity
Subdues me, and calamitous constraint,
Lest on my head both sin and punishment,
However insupportable, be all
Devolved, though should I hold my peace, yet thou
Wouldst easily detect what I conceal.
This woman, whom thou mad'st to be my help,
And gav'st me as thy perfect gift, so good,
So fit, so acceptable, so divine,
That from her hand I could suspect no ill, 140
And what she did, whatever in itself,
Her doing seemed to justify the deed,
She gave me of the tree, and I did eat"

To whom the Sovran Presence thus replied.

"Was she thy God, that her thou didst obey
Before his voice? or was she made thy guide,
Superior, or but equal, that to her
Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place
Wherein God set thee above her, made of thee
And for thee, whose perfection far excelled 150
Hers in all real dignity? Adorned
She was indeed, and lovely, to attract
Thy love, not thy subjection, and her gifts
Were such as under government well seemed,

Unseemly to bear rule, which was thy part
And person, hadst thou known thyself aright "

So having said, he thus to Eve in few
"Say, Woman, what is this which thou hast done?"

To whom sad Eve, with shame nigh overwhelmed,
Confessing soon, yet not before her Judge 160
Bold or loquacious, thus abashed replied
"The Serpent me beguiled, and I did eat "

Which when the Lord God heard, without delay
To judgment he proceeded on the accused
Serpent, though brute, unable to transfer
The guilt on him who made him instrument
Of mischief, and polluted from the end
Of his creation, justly then accursed,
As vitiated in nature More to know
Concerned not Man (since he no further knew), 170
Nor altered his offence, yet God at last
To Satan, first in sin, his doom applied,
Though in mysterious terms, judged as then best,
And on the Serpent thus his curse let fall:

"Because thou hast done this, thou art accursed
Above all cattle, each beast of the field,
Upon thy belly grovelling thou shalt go,
And dust shalt eat all the days of thy life.
Between thee and the Woman I will put
Enmity, and between thine and her seed, 180
Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel "

So spake this oracle, then verified
When Jesus, son of Mary, second Eve,
Saw Satan fall like lightning down from Heaven,
Prince of the air, then, rising from his grave,
Spoiled Principalities and Powers, triumphed
In open show, and with ascension bright

Captivity led captive through the air,
 The realm itself of Satan long usurped,
 Whom he shall tread at last under our feet, 190
 Even he who now foretold his fatal bruise,
 And to the Woman thus his sentence turned :

“Thy sorrow I will greatly multiply
 By thy conception, children thou shalt bring
 In sorrow forth, and to thy husband's will
 Thine shall submit, he over thee shall rule”

On Adam last thus judgment he pronounced
 “Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife,
 And eaten of the tree, concerning which
 I charged thee, saying, ‘Thou shalt not eat thereof,’ 200
 Curs'd is the ground for thy sake, thou in sorrow
 Shalt eat thereof all the days of thy life,
 Thorns also and thistles it shall bring thee forth
 Unbid, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field,
 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,
 Till thou return unto the ground, for thou
 Out of the ground wast taken know thy birth,
 For dust thou art, and shalt to dust return”

So judged he Man, both Judge and Saviour sent,
 And the instant stroke of death, denounced that day, 210
 Removed far off, then, pitying how they stood
 Before him naked to the air, that now
 Must suffer change, disdained not to begin
 Thenceforth the form of servant to assume,
 As when he washed his servants' feet, so now,
 As father of his family, he clad
 Their nakedness with skins of beasts, or slain,
 Or as the snake with youthful coat repaid,
 And thought not much to clothe his enemies
 Nor he their outward only with the skins 220

Of beasts, but inward nakedness, much more
 Opprobrious, with his robe of righteousness
 Arraying, covered from his Father's sight
 To him with swift ascent he up returned,
 Into his blissful bosom reassumed
 In glory as of old, to him appeased,
 All, though all-knowing, what had passed with Man
 Recounted, mixing intercession sweet

Meanwhile, ere thus was sinned and judged on Earth,
 Within the gates of Hell sat Sin and Death, 230
 In counterview within the gates, that now
 Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame
 Far into Chaos, since the Fiend passed through,
 Sin opening, who thus now to Death began

"O Son, why sit we here each other viewing
 Idly, while Satan, our great author, thrives
 In other worlds, and happier seat provides
 For us, his offspring dear? It cannot be
 But that success attends him, if mishap,
 Ere this he had returned, with fury driven 240
 By his avengers, since no place like this
 Can fit his punishment, or their revenge.
 Methinks I feel new strength within me rise,
 Wings growing, and dominion given me large
 Beyond this Deep, whatever draws me on,
 Or sympathy, or some connatural force,
 Powerful at greatest distance to unite
 With secret amity things of like kind
 By secretest conveyance Thou, my shade
 Inseparable, must with me along, 250
 For Death from Sin no power can separate.
 But, lest the difficulty of passing back
 Stay his return perhaps over this gulf

Impassable, impervious, let us try
 Adventurous work, yet to thy power and mine
 Not unagreeable, to found a path
 Over this main from Hell to that new World
 Where Satan now prevails, a monument
 Of merit high to all the infernal host,
 Easing their passage hence, for intercourse 260
 Or transmigration, as their lot shall lead.
 Nor can I miss the way, so strongly drawn
 By this new-felt attraction and instinct "

Whom thus the meagre Shadow answered soon :
 "Go whither fate and inclination strong
 Leads thee, I shall not lag behind, nor err
 The way, thou leading, such a scent I draw
 Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taste
 The savour of death from all things there that live
 Nor shall I to the work thou enterprisest 270
 Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid "

So saying, with delight he snuffed the smell
 Of mortal change on Earth As when a flock
 Of ravenous fowl, though many a league remote,
 Against the day of battle, to a field,
 Where armies lie encamped, come flying, lured
 With scent of living carcasses designed
 For death the following day in bloody fight
 So scented the grim Feature, and upturned
 His nostril wide into the murky air, 280
 Sagacious of his ^{very} quarry from so far
 Then both, from out Hell gates, into the waste
 Wide anarchy of Chaos damp and dark
 Flew diverse, and with power (their power was great)
 Hovering upon the waters, what they met
 Solid or slimy, as in raging sea

Tossed up and down, together crowded drove,
 From each side shoaling, towards the mouth of Hell;
 As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
 Upon the Cronian sea, together drive 290
 Mountains of ice, that stop the imagined way,
 Beyond Petsora eastward, to the rich
 Cathaian coast The aggregated soil
 Death with his mace petrific, cold and dry,
 As with a trident smote, and fixed as firm
 As Delos, floating once, the rest his look
 Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move,
 And with asphaltic slime, broad as the gate
 Deep to the roots of Hell the gathered beach
 They fastened, and the mole immense wrought on 300
 Over the foaming Deep high-arched, a bridge
 Of length prodigious, joining to the wall
 Immovable of this now fenceless World,
 Forfeited to Death, from hence a passage broad,
 Smooth, easy, inoffensive, down to Hell
 So, if great things to small may be compared,
 Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
 From Susa, his Memnonian palace high,
 Came to the sea, and, over Hellespont
 Bridging his way, Europe with Asia joined, 310
 And scourged with many a stroke the indignant waves.
 Now had they brought the work by wondrous art
 Pontifical, a ridge of pendent rock,
 Over the vexed Abyss, following the track
 Of Satan, to the self-same place where he
 First lighted from his wing, and landed safe
 From out of Chaos, to the outside bare
 Of this round World With pins of adamant
 And chains they made all fast, too fast they made

And durable, and now in little space
 The confines met of empyrean Heaven 320
 And of this World, and on the left hand Hell
 With long reach interposed, three several ways,
 In sight, to each of these three places led
 And now their way to Earth they had descried,
 To Paradise first tending, when, behold
 Satan, in likeness of an Angel bright,
 Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion steering
 His zenith, while the sun in Aries rose
 Disguised he came, but those his children dear 330
 Their parent soon discerned, though in disguise
 He, after Eve seduced, unminded slunk
 Into the wood fast by, and, changing shape
 To observe the sequel, saw his guileful, ac
 By Eve, though all unweeting, seconded
 Upon her husband, saw their shame that sought
 Vain covertures, but when he saw descend
 The Son of God to judge them, terrified
 He fled, not hoping to escape, but shun
 The present, fearing guilty what his wrath 340
 Might suddenly inflict, that past, returned
 By night, and listening where the hapless pair
 Sat in their sad discourse and various plaint,
 Thence gathered his own doom, which understood
 Not instant, but of future time, with joy
 And tidings fraught, to Hell he now returned,
 And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
 Of this new wondrous pontifice, unhoped
 Met who to meet him came, his offspring dear
 Great joy was at their meeting, and at sight 350
 Of that stupendous bridge his joy increased
 Long he admiring stood, till Sin, his fair

Enchanting daughter, thus the silence broke.

“O Parent, these are thy magnific deeds,
Thy trophies, which thou view'st as not thine own,
Thou art their author and prime architect,
For I no sooner in my heart divined
(My heart, which by a secret harmony
Still moves with thine, joined in connexion sweet)
That thou on Earth hadst prospered, which thy looks 360
Now also evidence, but straight I felt,
Though distant from thee worlds between, yet felt
That I must after thee with this thy son,
Such fatal consequence unites us three.
Hell could no longer hold us in her bounds,
Nor this unvoyageable gulf obscure
Detain from following thy illustrious track
Thou hast achieved our liberty, confined
Within Hell-gates till now, thou us empowered
To fortify thus far, and overlay 370
With this portentous bridge the dark Abyss
Thine now is all this World, thy virtue hath won
What thy hands builded not, thy wisdom gained
With odds what war hath lost, and fully avenged
Our foil in Heaven here thou shalt monarch reign,
There didst not, there let him still victor sway,
As battle hath adjudged, from this new World
Retiring, by his own doom alienated,
And henceforth monarchy with thee divide
Of all things, parted by the empyreal bounds, 380
His quadrature, from thy orbicular World,
Or try thee now more dangerous to his throne”

Whom thus the Prince of Darkness answered glad.
“Fair daughter, and thou son and grandchild both,
High proof ye now have given to be the race

Of Satan (for I glory in the name,
 Antagonist of Heaven's Almighty King),
 Amply have merited of me, of all
 The infernal empire, that so near Heaven's door
 Triumphal with triumphal act have met, 390
 Mine with this glorious work, and made one realm
 Hell and this World—one realm, one continent
 Of easy thoroughfare Therefore, while I
 Descend through darkness, on your road with ease,
 To my associate Powers, them to acquaint
 With these successes, and with them rejoice,
 You two this way, among these numerous orbs,
 All yours, right down to Paradise descend,
 There dwell and reign in bliss, thence on the Earth
 Dominion exercise and in the air, 400
 Chiefly on Man, sole lord of all declared;
 Him first make sure your thrall, and lastly kill.
 My substitutes I send ye, and create
 Plenipotent on Earth, of matchless might
 Issuing from me. on your joint vigour now
 My hold of this new kingdom all depends,
 Through Sin to Death exposed by my exploit
 If your joint power prevail, the affairs of Hell
 No detriment need fear, go, and be strong" *th*

So saying, he dismissed them, they with speed
 Their course through thickest constellations held,
 Spreading their bane, the blasted stars looked w
 And planets, planet-struck, real eclipse
 Then suffered. The other way Satan went down,
 The causey to Hell-gate, on either side *2 a. m. w. e.*
 Disparted Chaos over-built exclaimed,
 And with rebounding surge the bars assailed,
 That scorned his indignation Through the gate,

Wide open and unguarded, Satan passed,
And all about found desolate, for those 420
Appointed to sit there had left their charge,
Flown to the upper World, the rest were all
Far to the inland retired, about the walls
Of Pandemonium, city and proud seat
Of Lucifer, so by allusion called
Of that bright star to Satan paragoned,
There kept their watch the legions, while the Grand
In council sat, solicitous what chance
Might intercept their Emperor sent, so he
Departing gave command, and they observed 430
As when the Tartar from his Russian foe,
By Astracan, over the snowy plains
Retires, or Bactrian Sophi, from the horns
Of Turkish crescent, leaves all waste beyond
The realm of Aladule, in his retreat
To Tauris or Casbeen so these, the late
Heaven-banished host, left desert utmost Hell
Many a dark league, reduced in careful watch
Round their metropolis, and now expecting
Each hour their great adventurer from the search 440
Of foreign worlds He through the midst unmarked,
In show plebeian Angel militant
Of lowest order, passed, and, from the door
Of that Plutonian hall, invisible
Ascended his high throne, which, under state
Of richest texture spread, at the upper end
Was placed in regal lustre Down a while
He sat, and round about him saw unseen
At last, as from a cloud, his fulgent head
And shape star-bright appeared, or brighter, clad 450
With what permissive glory since his fall

Was left him, or false glitter All amazed
 At that so sudden blaze, the Stygian throng
 Bent their aspect, and whom they wished beheld,
 Their mighty Chief returned loud was the acclaim
 Forth rushed in haste the great consulting peers,
 Raised from their dark divan, and with like joy
 Congratulant approached him, who with hand
 Silence, and with these words attention, won

“Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers! 460
 For in possession such, not only of right,
 I call ye, and declare ye now, returned,
 Successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
 Triumphant out of this infernal pit
 Abominable, accursed, the house of woe,
 And dungeon of our tyrant! Now possess,
 As lords, a spacious World, to our native Heaven
 Little inferior, by my adventure hard
 With peril great achieved Long were to tell
 What I have done, what suffered, with what pain 470
 Voyaged the unreal, vast, unbounded Deep
 Of horrible confusion, over which
 By Sin and Death a broad way now is paved,
 To expedite your glorious march, but I
 Toiled out my uncouth passage, forced to ride
 The untractable Abyss, plunged in the womb
 Of unoriginal Night and Chaos wild,
 That, jealous of their secrets, fiercely opposed
 My journey strange, with clamorous uproar
 Protesting Fate supreme, thence how I found 480
 The new-created World, which fame in Heaven
 Long had foretold, a fabric wonderful,
 Of absolute perfection, therein Man
 Placed in a Paradise, by our exile

Made happy. Him by fraud I have seduced
From his Creator, and, the more to increase
Your wonder, with an apple! He, thereat
Offended—worth your laughter!—hath given up
Both his beloved Man and all his World
To Sin and Death a prey, and so to us, 490
Without our hazard, labour, or alarm,
To range in, and to dwell, and over Man
To rule, as over all he should have ruled
True is, me also he hath judged, or rather
Me not, but the brute serpent, in whose shape
Man I deceived that which to me belongs
Is enmity, which he will put between
Me and mankind, I am to bruise his heel,
His seed—when is not set—shall bruise my head:
A world who would not purchase with a bruise, 500
Or much more grievous pain? Ye have the account
Of my performance, what remains, ye Gods,
But up and enter now into full bliss?”

So having said, a while he stood, expecting
Their universal shout and high applause
To fill his ear, when, contrary, he hears,
On all sides, from innumerable tongues,
A dismal universal hiss, the sound
Of public scorn He wondered, but not long
Had leisure, wondering at himself now more, 510
His visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
His arms clung to his ribs, his legs entwining
Each other, till, supplanted, down he fell
A monstrous serpent on his belly prone,
Reluctant, but in vain, a greater power
Now ruled him, punished in the shape he sinned,
According to his doom He would have spoke,

But hiss for hiss returned with forked tongue
 To forked tongue, for now were all transformed
 Alike, to serpents all, as accessories 520
 To his bold riot. Dreadful was the din
 Of hissing through the hall, thick-swarming now
 With complicated monsters, head and tail,
 Scorpion, and asp, and amphishæna dire,
 Cerastes horned, hydrus, and ellops drear,
 And dipsas (not so thick swarmed once the soil
 Bedropt with blood of Gorgon, or the isle
 Ophiusa); but still greatest he the midst,
 Now dragon grown, larger than whom the sun
 Engendered in the Pythian vale on slime, 530
 Huge Python; and his power no less he seemed
 Above the rest still to retain. They all
 Him followed, issuing forth to the open field,
 Where all yet left of that revolted rout,
 Heaven-fallen, in station stood or just array,
 Sublime, with expectation when to see
 In triumph issuing forth their glorious Chief;
 They saw, but other sight instead, a crowd
 Of ugly serpents! Horror on them fell,
 And horrid sympathy; for what they saw 540
 They felt themselves now changing down their arms
 Down fell both spear and shield, down they as fast,
 And the dire hiss renewed, and the dire form
 Caught by contagion, like in punishment,
 As in their crime. Thus was the applause they meant
 Turned to exploding hiss, triumph to shame
 Cast on themselves from their own mouths. There stood
 A grove hard by, sprung up with this their change,
 His will who reigns above, to aggravate
 Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that 550

Which grew in Paradise, the bait of Eve
Used by the Tempter On that prospect strange
Their earnest eyes they fixed, imagining
For one forbidden tree a multitude

Now risen, to work them further woe or shame,
Yet, parched with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,
Though to delude them sent, could not abstain,

But on they rolled in heaps, and, up the trees
Climbing, sat thicker than the snaky locks

That curled Megæra Greedily they plucked

560

The fruitage fair to sight, like that which grew
Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flamed,

This, more delusive, not the touch, but taste

Deceived, they, fondly thinking to allay

Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit

Chewed bitter ashes, which the offended taste

With spattering noise rejected Oft they assayed,

Hunger and thirst constraining, drugged as oft,

With hatefulest disrelish writhed their jaws,

With soot and cinders filled, so oft they fell

570

Into the same illusion, not as Man

Whom they triumphed once lapsed Thus were they plagued

And worn with famine long, and ceaseless hiss,

Till their lost shape, permitted, they resumed,

Yearly enjoined, some say, to undergo

This annual humbling certain numbered days,

To dash their pride, and joy for Man seduced

However, some tradition they dispersed

Among the heathen of their purchase got,

And fabled how the Serpent, whom they called

580

Ophion, with Eurynome (the wide-

Encroaching Eve perhaps), had first the rule

Of high Olympus, thence by Saturn driven

And Ops, 'ere yet Dictæan Jove was born.

Meanwhile in Paradise the Hellish pair
Too soon arrived, Sin there in power before,
Once actual, now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant, behind her Death,
Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horse, to whom Sin thus began

590

"Second of Satan sprung, all-conquering Death!
What think'st thou of our empire now, though earned
With travail difficult? not better far
Than still at Hell's dark threshold to have sat watch,
Unnamed, undreaded, and thyself half-starved?"

Whom thus the Sin-born Monster answered soon
"To me, who with eternal famine pine,
Alike is Hell, or Paradise, or Heaven,
There best, where most with raven I may meet,
Which here, though plenteous, all too little seems
To stuff this maw, this vast unhide-bound corpse"

600

To whom the incestuous Mother thus replied
"Thou therefore on these herbs, and fruits, and flowers,
Feed first, on each beast next, and fish, and fowl,
No homely morsels, and whatever thing
The scythe of Time mows down devour unspared,
Till I, in Man residing, through the race,
His thoughts, his looks, words, actions, all infect,
And season him thy last and sweetest prey"

This said, they both betook them several ways, 610
Both to destroy, or unimmortal make
All kinds, and for destruction to mature
Sooner or later, which the Almighty seeing,
From his transcendent seat the Saints among,
To those bright Orders uttered thus his voice:

"See with what heat these dogs of Hell advance

To waste and havoc yonder World, which I
 So fair and good created, and had still
 Kept in that state, had not the folly of Man
 Let in these wasteful furies, who impute 620
 Folly to me (so doth the Prince of Hell
 And his adherents), that with so much ease
 I suffer them to enter and possess
 A place so heavenly, and conniving seem
 To gratify my scornful enemies,
 That laugh, as if, transported with some fit
 Of passion, I to them had quitted all,
 At random yielded up to their misrule,
 And know not that I called and drew them thither,
 My Hell-hounds, to lick up the druff and filth 630
 Which Man's polluting sin with taint hath shed
 On what was pure, till, crammed and gorged, nigh burst
 With sucked and glutted offal, at one sling
 Of thy victorious arm, well-pleasing Son,
 Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave at last,
 Through Chaos hurled, obstruct the mouth of Hell
 For ever, and seal up his ravenous jaws
 Then Heaven and Earth, renewed, shall be made pure
 To sanctity that shall receive no stain
 Till then the curse pronounced on both precedes" 640
 He ended, and the Heavenly audience loud
 Sung Halleluah, as the sound of seas,
 Through multitude that sung. "Just are thy ways,
 Righteous are thy decrees on all thy works,
 Who can extenuate thee?" Next, to the Son,
 Destined restorer of mankind, by whom
 New Heaven and Earth shall to the ages rise,
 Or down from Heaven descend Such was their song,
 While the Creator, calling forth by name

His mighty Angels, gave them several charge, 650
As sorted best with present things The sun
Had first his precept so to move, so shine,
As might affect the Earth with cold and heat
Scarce tolerable, and from the north to call
Decrepit winter, from the south to bring
Solstitial summer's heat To the blanc moon
Her office they prescribed, to the other five
Their planetary motions and aspects,
In sextile, square, and trine, and opposite,
Of noxious efficacy, and when to join 660
In synod unbenign, and taught the fixed
Their influence malignant when to shower; '
Which of them rising with the sun, or falling, '
Should prove tempestuous To the winds they set
Their corners, when with bluster to confound
Sea, air, and shore, the thunder when to roll
With terror through the dark aerial hall
Some say he bid his Angels turn askance
The poles of Earth twice ten degrees and more
From the sun's axle, they with labour pushed 670
Oblique the centric globe. some say the sun
Was bid turn reins from the equinoctial road
Like distant breadth to Taurus with the seven
Atlantic Sisters, and the Spartan Twins,
Up to the Tropic Crab, thence down amain
By Leo and the Virgin and the Scales,
As deep as Capricorn, to bring in change
Of seasons to each clime. else had the spring
Perpetual smiled on Earth with vernant flowers,
Equal in days and nights, except to those 680
Beyond the polar circles, to them day
Had unbenighted shone, while the low sun,

To recompense his distance, in their sight
 Had rounded still the horizon, and not known
 Or east or west, which had forbid the ~~sun~~
 From cold Estotiland, and south as far
 Beneath Magellan. At that tasted fruit
 The sun, as from Thyestean banquet, turned
 His course intended else how had the World
 Inhabited, though sinless, more than now 690
 Avoided pinching cold and scorching heat?
 These changes in the heavens, though slow, produced
 Like change on sea and land, sideral blast,
 Vapour, and mist, and exhalation hot,
 Corrupt and pestilent Now from the north
 Of Norumbega, and the Samoed shore, *V. 6*
 Bursting their brazen dungeon, armed with ice
 And snow and hail and stormy gust and flaw,
 Boreas and Cæcias and Argestes loud
 And Thræscias rend the woods and seas upturn, 700
 With adverse blasts upturns them from the south
 Notus and Afer black with thundrous clouds
 From Serrationa, thwart of these, as fierce
 Forth rush the Levant and the Ponent winds,
 Eurus and Zephyr with their lateral noise,
 Sirocco, and Libeccio Thus began
 Outrage from lifeless things, but Discord first,
 Daughter of Sin, among the irrational
 Death introduced through fierce antipathy
 Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with fowl, 710
 And fish with fish, to graze the herb all leaving
 Devoured each other, nor stood much in awe
 Of Man, but fled him, or with countenance grim
 Glared on him passing These were from without
 The growing miseries, which Adam saw

Already in part, though hid in gloomiest shade,
 To sorrow abandoned, but worse felt within,
 And, in a troubled sea of passion tost,
 Thus to disburden sought with sad complaint

“O miserable of happy! is this the end 720

Of this new glorious World, and me so late
 The glory of that glory? who now, become
 Accursed of blessed, hide me from the face
 Of God, whom to behold was then my high^h
 Of happiness! Yet well, if here would end
 The misery, I deserved it, and would bear
 My own deservings, but this will not serve:

All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,
 Is propagated curse O voice, once heard
 Delightfully, ‘Increase and multiply’, 730

Now death to hear! for what can I increase
 Or multiply, but curses on my head?
 Who, of all ages to succeed, but, feeling
 The evil on him brought by me, will curse
 My head? ‘Ill fare our Ancestor impure!
 For this we may thank Adam!’ but his thanks
 Shall be the execration, so, besides

Mine own that bide upon me, all from me
 Shall with a fierce reflux on me redound,
 On me, as on their natural centre, light 740

Heavy, though in their place O fleeting joys
 Of Paradise, dear bought with lasting woes!
 Did I request thee, Maker, from my clay
 To mould me Man? did I solicit thee
 From darkness to promote me, or here place
 In this delicious garden? As my will
 Concurred not to my being, it were but right
 And equal to reduce me to my dust,

Desirous to resign and render back
All I received, unable to perform 750
Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
The good I sought not To the loss of that,
Sufficient penalty, why hast thou added
The sense of endless woes? inexplicable
Thy justice seems Yet, to say truth, too late
I thus contest, then should have been refused
Those terms whatever, when they were proposed
Thou didst accept them. wilt thou enjoy the good,
Then cavil the conditions? And though God
Made thee without thy leave, what if thy son 760
Prove disobedient, and, reprov'd, retort,
'Wherefore didst thou beget me? I sought it not!'
Wouldst thou admit for his contempt of thee
That proud excuse? yet him not thy election,
But natural necessity, begot
God made thee of choice his own, and of his own
To serve him, thy reward was of his grace,
Thy punishment then justly is at his will
Be it so, for I submit, his doom is fair,
That dust I am, and shall to dust return 770
O welcome hour whenever! Why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fixed on this day? Why do I overlive?
Why am I mocked with death, and lengthened out
To deathless pain? How gladly would I meet
Mortality, my sentence, and be earth
Insensible! how glad would lay me down
As in my mother's lap! There I should rest
And sleep secure, his dreadful voice no more
Would thunder in my ears, no fear of worse 780
To me and to my offspring would torment me

With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt
 Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die,
 Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of Man
 Which God inspired, cannot together perish
 With this corporeal clod, then, in the grave,
 Or in some other dismal place, who knows
 But I shall die a living death? O thought
 Horrid, if true! Yet why? It was but breath
 Of life that sinned what dies but what had life 790
 And sin? the body properly hath neither
 All of me then shall die let this appease
 The doubt, since human reach no further knows
 For though the Lord of all be infinite,
 Is his wrath also? Be it, Man is not so,
 But mortal doomed How can he exercise
 Wrath without end on Man, whom death must end?
 Can he make deathless death? That were to make
 Strange contradiction, which to God himself
 Impossible is held, as argument 800
 Of weakness, not of power Will he draw out,
 For anger's sake, finite to infinite
 In punished Man, to satisfy his rigour
 Satisfied never? That were to extend
 His sentence beyond dust and Nature's law,
 By which all causes else according still
 To the reception of their ^{substance} matter act,
 Not to the extent of their own sphere But say
 That death be not one stroke, as I supposed,
 Bereaving sense, but endless misery 810
 From this day onward, which I feel begun
 Both in me and without me, and so last
 To perpetuity—Ay me! that fear
 Comes thundering back with dreadful revolution

On my defenceless head! Both Death and I
 Am found eternal, and incorporate both.
 Nor I on my part single; in me all
 Posterity stands cursed Fair patrimony
 That I must leave ye, sons! Oh, were I able
 To waste it all myself, and leave ye none! 820
 So disinherited, how would ye bless
 Me, now your curse! Ah, why should all mankind,
 For one man's fault, thus guiltless be condemned,
 If guiltless? But from me what can proceed
 But all corrupt, both mind and will depraved
 Not to do only, but to will the same
 With me? How can they then acquitted stand
 In sight of God? Him, after all disputes,
 Forced I absolve, all my evasions vain
 And reasonings, though through mazes, lead me still 830
 But to my own conviction first and last
 On me, me only, as the source and spring
 Of all corruption, all the blame lights due,
 So might the wrath! Fond wish! couldst thou support
 That burden, heavier than the Earth to bear,
 Than all the World much heavier, though divided
 With that bad woman? Thus, what thou desir'st,
 And what thou fear'st, alike destroys all hope
 Of refuge, and concludes thee miserable
 Beyond all past example and future, 840
 To Satan only like, both crime and doom
 O Conscience! into what abyss of fears
 And horrors hast thou driven me, out of which
 I find no way, from deep to deeper plunged!"
 Thus Adam to himself lamented loud
 Through the still night, not now, as ere Man fell,
 Wholesome and cool and mild, but with black air

Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom,
 Which to his evil conscience represented
 All things with double terror. On the ground 850
 Outstretched he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
 Cursed his creation, Death as oft accused
 Of tardy execution, since denounced
 The day of his offence "Why comes not Death,"
 Said he, "with one thrice-acceptable stroke
 To end me? Shall Truth fail to keep her word,
 Justice divine not hasten to be just?
 But Death comes not at call, Justice divine
 Mends not her slowest pace for prayers or cries
 O woods, O fountains, hillocks, dales, and bowers ! 860
 With other echo late I taught your shades
 To answer, and resound far other song"
 Whom thus afflicted when sad Eve beheld,
 Desolate where she sat, approaching nigh,
 Soft words to his fierce passion she assayed,
 But her with stern regard he thus repelled
 "Out of my sight, thou serpent! that name best
 Befits thee, with him leagued, thyself as false
 And hateful nothing wants, but that thy shape,
 Like his, and colour serpentine, may show 870
 Thy inward fraud, to warn all creatures from thee
 Henceforth, lest that too heavenly form, pretended
 To hellish falsehood, snare them But for thee
 I had persisted happy, had not thy pride
 And wandering vanity, when least was safe,
 Rejected my forewarning, and disdained
 Not to be trusted, longing to be seen,
 Though by the Devil himself, him overweening
 To overreach, but, with the Serpent meeting,
 Fooled and beguiled, by him thou, I by thee, 880

To trust thee from my side, imagined wise,
 Constant, mature, proof against all assaults;
 And understood not all was but a show,
 Rather than solid virtue, all but a rib
 Crooked by nature—bent, as now appears,
 More to the part sinister—from me drawn,
 Well if thrown out, as supernumerary
 To my just number found! Oh, why did God,
 Creator wise, that peopled highest Heaven
 With Spirits masculine, create at last
 This novelty on Earth, this fair defect
 Of Nature, and not fill the World at once
 With men, as Angels, without feminine,
 Or find some other way to generate
 Mankind? This mischief had not then befallen,
 And more that shall befall—innumerable
 Disturbances on Earth through female snares,
 And strait conjunction with this sex For either
 He never shall find out fit mate, but such
 As some misfortune brings him, or mistake,
 Or whom he wishes most shall seldom gain,
 Through her perverseness, but shall see her gained
 By a far worse, or, if she love, withheld
 By parents; or his happiest choice too late
 Shall meet, already linked and wedlock-bound
 To a fell adversary, his hate or shame
 Which infinite calamity shall cause
 To human life, and household peace confound"

890

900

He added not, and from her turned, but Eve,
 Not so repulsed, with tears that ceased not flowing,
 And tresses all disordered, at his feet
 Fell humble, and, embracing them, besought
 His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.

910

"Forsake me not thus, Adam! witness Heaven
 What love sincere and reverence in my heart
 I bear thee, and unweeting have offended,
 Unhappily deceived! Thy suppliant
 I beg, and clasp thy knees, bereave me not,
 Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
 Thy counsel in this uttermost distress, 920
 My only strength and stay forlorn of thee,
 Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?
 While yet we live, scarce one short hour perhaps,
 Between us two let there be peace, both joining,
 As joined in injuries, one enmity
 Against a foe by doom express assigned us,
 That cruel Serpent On me exercise not
 Thy hatred for this misery befallen,
 On me already lost, me than thyself
 More miserable Both have sinned, but thou 930
 Against God only, I against God and thee,
 And to the place of judgment will return,
 There with my cries importune Heaven, that all
 The sentence, from thy head removed, may light
 On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
 Me, me only, just object of His ire"

She ended weeping, and her lowly plight,
 Immovable till peace obtained from fault
 Acknowledged and deplored, in Adam wrought
 Commiseration Soon his heart relented 940
 Towards her, his life so late and sole delight,
 Now at his feet submissive in distress,
 Creature so fair his reconcilment seeking,
 His counsel, whom she had displeased, his aid;
 As one disarmed, his anger all he lost,
 And thus with peaceful words upraised her soon

"Unwary, and too desirous, as before
 So now, of what thou know'st not, who desir'st
 The punishment all on thyself! Alas!
 Bear thine own first, ill able to sustain 950
 His full wrath, whose thou feel'st as yet least part,
 And my displeasure bear'st so ill If prayers
 Could alter high decrees, I to that place
 Would speed before thee, and be louder heard,
 That on my head all might be visited,
 Thy frailty and infirmer sex forgiven,
 To me committed, and by me exposed
 But rise, let us no more contend, nor blame
 Each other, blamed enough elsewhere, but strive 960
 In offices of love, how we may lighten
 Each other's burden, in our share of woe,
 Since this day's death denounced, if aught I see,
 Will prove no sudden, but a slow-paced evil,
 A long day's dying, to augment our pain,
 And to our seed (O hapless seed!) derived"

To whom thus Eve, recovering heart, replied
 "Adam, by sad experiment I know
 How little weight my words with thee can find,
 Found so erroneous, thence by just event
 Found so unfortunate, nevertheless, 970
 Restored by thee, vile as I am, to place
 Of new acceptance, hopeful to regain
 Thy love, the sole contentment of my heart,
 Living or dying from thee I will not hide
 What thoughts in my unquiet breast are risen,
 Tending to some relief of our extremes,
 Or end, though sharp and sad, yet tolerable,
 As in our evils, and of easier choice
 If care of our descent perplex us most,

Which must be born to certain woe, devoured
 By Death at last (and miserable it is
 To be to others cause of misery,
 Our own begotten, and of our loins to bring
 Into this cursed World a woeful race,
 That after wretched life must be at last
 Food for so foul a monster), in thy power
 It lies, yet ere conception, to prevent
 The race unblest, to being yet unbegot
 Childless thou art, childless remain, so Death
 Shall be deceived his glut, and with us two
 Be forced to satisfy his ravenous maw.
 But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
 Conversing, looking, loving, to abstain
 From love's due rites, nuptial embraces sweet,
 And with desire to languish without hope,
 Before the present object languishing
 With like desire, which would be misery
 And torment less than none of what we dread,
 Then, both our selves and seed at once to free
 From what we fear for both, let us make short,
 Let us seek Death, or, he not found, supply
 With our own hands his office on ourselves
 Why stand we longer shivering under fears
 That show no end but death, and have the power,
 Of many ways to die the shortest choosing,
 Destruction with destruction to destroy?"

She ended here, or vehement despair
 Broke off the rest, so much of death her thoughts
 Had entertained as dyed her cheeks with pale
 But Adam, with such counsel nothing swayed,
 To better hopes his more attentive mind
 Labouring had raised, and thus to Eve replied

“Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems
To argue in thee something more sublime
And excellent than what thy mind contemns,
But self-destruction therefore sought refutes
That excellence thought in thee, and implies,
Not thy contempt, but anguish and regret
For loss of life and pleasure overloved
Or if thou covet death, as utmost end 1020
Of misery, so thinking to evade
The penalty pronounced, doubt not but God
Hath wiselier armed his vengeful ire than so
To be forestalled, much more I fear lest death
So snatched will not exempt us from the pain
We are by doom to pay, rather such acts
Of contumacy will provoke the Highest
To make death in us live Then let us seek
Some safer resolution, which methinks
I have in view, calling to mind with heed 1030
Part of our sentence, that thy seed shall bruise
The Serpent’s head piteous amends’ unless
Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand foe,
Satan, who in the serpent hath contrived
Against us this deceit To crush his head
Would be revenge indeed, which will be lost
By death brought on ourselves, or childless days
Resolved as thou proposest, so our foe
Shall scape his punishment ordained, and we
Instead shall double ours upon our heads 1040
No more be mentioned then of violence
Against ourselves, and wilful barrenness,
That cuts us off from hope, and savours only
Rancour and pride, impatience and despite,
Reluctance against God and his just yoke

Laid on our necks Remember with what mild
 And gracious temper he both heard and judged,
 Without wrath or reviling; we expected
 Immediate dissolution, which we thought
 Was meant by death that day, when, lo! to thee 1050
 Pains only in child-bearing were foretold,
 And bringing forth, soon recompensed with joy,
 Fruit of thy womb, on me the curse aslope
 Glanced on the ground. with labour I must earn
 My bread, what harm? Idleness had been worse,
 My labour will sustain me, and, lest cold
 Or heat should injure us, his timely care
 Hath, unbesought, provided, and his hands
 Clothed us unworthy, pitying while he judged,
 How much more, if we pray him, will his ear 1060
 Be open, and his heart to pity incline,
 And teach us further by what means to shun
 The inclement seasons, rain, ice, hail, and snow!
 Which now the sky with various face begins
 To show us in this mountain, while the winds
 Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks
 Of these fair spreading trees, which bids us seek
 Some better shroud, some better warmth to cherish
 Our limbs benumbed, ere this diurnal star
 Leave cold the night, how ~~we~~ his gathered beams 1070
 Reflected may with matter ~~serve~~ foment,
 Or by collusion of two bodies grind
 The air attrite to fire, as late the clouds, ~~was~~
 Justling or pushed with winds, rude in their shock,
~~Time~~ the slant lightning, whose thwart flame driven down
 Kindles the gummy bark of fir or pine,
 And sends a comfortable heat from far,
 Which might supply the sun Such fire to use,

And what may else be remedy or cure
To evils which our own misdeeds have wrought, 1080
He will instruct us praying, and of grace
Beseeching him; so as we need not fear
To pass commodiously this life, sustained
By him with many comforts, till we end
In dust, our final rest and native home
What better can we do, than, to the place
Repairing where he judged us, prostrate fall
Before him reverent, and there confess
Humbly our faults, and pardon beg, with tears
Watering the ground, and with our sighs the air 1090
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeigned and humiliation meek?
Undoubtedly he will relent, and turn
From his displeasure, in whose look serene,
When angry most he seemed and most severe,
What else but favour, grace, and mercy shone?"

So spake our father penitent, nor Eve
Felt less remorse They, forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judged them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confessed 1100
Humbly their faults, and pardon begged, with tears
Watering the ground, and with their sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeigned and humiliation meek

NOTES.

Abbreviations '—

M = Milton, or Milton's poetry, as distinguished from his prose

G = Glossary

P.R = *Paradise Regained*

S A = *Samson Agonistes*

Other books of *Paradise Lost* are indicated by Roman numerals, thus in the first note "v 331—450" means book v, lines 331 to 450

The edition of Milton's prose-works to which reference is made under the abbreviation "*P W*" is that published in "Bohn's Standard Library"

Note —The action of Books I—VIII is sketched in the *Introduction*, pp liv —lvii, and should be studied by any reader who is not familiar with them

BOOK IX

1—5 This introduction refers mainly to Raphael's colloquy with Adam in the four preceding books of *Paradise Lost*. We were told in them how the Archangel came down to Eden, partook with Adam of the "rural repast" which Eve prepared (v. 331—450), and then held long "talk" with him, narrating the rebellion of Satan and his followers, their expulsion from Heaven (v 577—907, vi 1—892), and the Creation of the World (book vii), explaining other points on which Adam asks questions (book viii), and admonishing him against his Enemy (vi 900—912, viii 635—643). Raphael is referred to several times in books v—viii as Adam's "Angel-guest" (v 328),

"godlike guest" (v 351), "Heavenly guest" (vii 69, viii 646), and it is to him that the description in lines 2—4 is meant to apply

1 *No more of talk*, i.e. there will be no more of this friendly conversation in the rest of the poem. In book xi the Messenger sent from Heaven is not Raphael "the affable Archangel" (vii 41), but the stern, warlike Michael, who has to announce to Adam and Eve their banishment from Eden and to lead them forth

where God, understand from what follows some words like 'conversed,' 'spoke'. The reference is to book viii, where Adam says that the Almighty gave him possession of the Garden of Eden, warned him not to touch the Tree of Knowledge (viii 316—333), and then promised him a help-mate in Eve (viii. 437—451)

2 *as with his friend*. Cf. *Exodus* xxxiii. 11, "And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend"

6 *tragic*, i.e. "notes," to which the nouns "distrust," "breach" etc. are in apposition

9 *distance*, coldness

11. *a world of*, much of, a deal of. For the verbal quibble see 648, and cf. xi 627, "The world ere long a world of tears must weep"

12 *Sin Death*, see \ 230, note *shadow*, inseparable companion, cf. "shade," \ 249. There is perhaps in both cases an allusion to the description of Death's appearance—"that shadow seemed," ii 669, "the meagre shadow," \ 264

Misery, all kinds of physical pain and disease—the "harbingers" (see G.), i.e. forerunners, of death. Cf. the vision revealed to Adam in xi 477—490 of the "diseases dire" that Eve's disobedience brought upon men

13—19. He means that as regards the "argument (see G.)," i.e. subject, with which it is now about to deal, his poem has an advantage over the three great classical epics: (i) the *Iliad*, which commences with the line "Sing, O Muse, the wrath of Achilles," and describes in book xxii his pursuit of Hector ("his foe") thrice round the wall of Troy, (ii) the *Odyssey*, which relates the wanderings that Odysseus ("the Greek") experienced on his homeward journey after the Trojan war because Neptune was hostile to him, and (iii) the *Æneid*, which tells of the hostility of Juno to Æneas, the son of Cytherea, i.e. Venus, and of his betrothal to Lavinia (daughter of Latinus, king of Latium), who had previously been promised in marriage to Turnus

There is a similar summary of the themes of the three classical epics in his *Second Defence of the People of England*, where he writes "The

epic poet who adheres at all to the rules of that species of composition does not profess to describe the whole life of the hero whom he celebrates, but only some particular action of his life, as the resentment of Achilles at Troy, the return of Ulysses, or the coming of Æneas into Italy," *P R* i 299 It is remarkable, I think, how much more repetition of thought and expression there is in Milton than in Shakespeare

This claim to moral, not artistic, superiority, as of Christianity over Paganism, occurs in the two other great passages of invocation in *Paradise Lost*, cf i 12—16 and vii 1—12 In Milton's view the great poet is a teacher in the first place, a singer in the second, and he seems to have regarded himself as literally an inspired teacher

"Wrath" (14), "rage" (16), "ire" (18) all point back to "anger" in line 10 "The anger that he is about to sing is an 'argument' more heroic not only than the anger of men, of Achilles and Turnus, but than that even of the gods, of Neptune and Juno The anger of the true God is a more noble subject than [the anger] of the false gods"—*Newton*

20 *answerable*, corresponding, a style equal to the dignity of his subject

21 *my celestial patroness*, i.e. the "Heavenly Muse" whose aid he invokes at the beginning of the poem (i 6), she is the divine power, he says, who "taught" Moses on Sinai (i 6—10) and inspired David on Sion (iii 29—32) and the other prophets and singers of Israel He calls her (vii 1) "Urania"="the Heavenly one" (Gk *οὐρανία*), cf "*celestial patroness*" Milton's references to this Muse of Sacred Song which gave him inspiration have a reality that is lacking in the conventional poetical appeals to the 'Muses' In *P R* i 8—17 he seems to identify the "Heavenly Muse" with the Holy Spirit

22 *nightly*, cf 47 He elsewhere speaks of himself as best inspired at night or just at dawn, cf iii 29—32 and vii 28—30,

"thou (i.e. the Muse)

Visit'st my slumbers nightly, or when morn

Purples the east "

Newton in his *Life* of M says that the poet's widow, "being asked who the Muse was, replied it was God's grace, and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly" (Cf Shakespeare's famous 86th *Sonnet*) And Johnson, on the authority of Richardson's *Life* (1734), relates that M "would sometimes lie awake whole nights and on a sudden his poetical faculty would rush upon him with an *impetus*, and his daughter was immediately called to secure what came "

24 The trochee ("eásy") in the first foot is intended to give an easy flow of rhythm corresponding with the sense

25 Since first, i.e. about 1640, some lines of *Paradise Lost* (IV 32—41) were written as early as 1642

this subject for heroic song See the *Appendix*, pp 147, 148.

26 long choosing and beginning late, see *Introduction*, pp xxvii—xliv

29 i.e. the chief mastery being to etc. dissect, referring to the detailed descriptions of wounds in Homer and Vergil

30, 31 fabled feigned A mythical subject would not appeal to M Probably one of his reasons for abandoning the story of King Arthur which he at one time intended to take as the subject of his great poem was that he found the story to be "fabled" and "feigned," see *Introduction*, p xxxiii His three great poems all had a solid basis, so had *Lycidas*, and perhaps *Comus* in a minor degree (see Pitt Press ed. p xxxvi)

33 races and games The allusion is to the classical poets, cf. especially the description of the games in *Iliad* xiviii and *Æneid* v. M makes the Angels who keep guard over the entrance to Paradise "exercise heroic games" (IV 551, 552), but does not describe them. See also II 528—538

34—38. The allusion is to the Italian poets—e.g. Boiardo, Ariosto and Tasso—and Spenser, who describe tournaments and scenes of chivalry

34 tilting furniture, all the equipments of a tournament
emblazoned, with coats of arms portrayed on them

35 Impresses, devices on shields, see G

36 The base was a skirt or kilt, reaching from the wrist to the knees, worn by a knight on horseback See G Keightley quotes the *Faerie Queene*, III i. 15

"Her garments all were wrought of beaten gold,
And all her steed with tinsel trappings shone"

37, 38 "The marshal placed the guests according to their rank and saw that they were properly served, the sewer marched in before the meats, and arranged them on the table, the seneschal was the household steward"—Todd See sewer and seneschal in G

39 The skill, in apposition to "to describe," 33

41, 43 me remains=me manet

43, 44 to raise That name, i.e. to raise up, create, for my poem the title "heroic"

44 *an age too late*, i.e. in the world's history, implying that the conditions favourable to epic poetry had passed away. It is, I suppose, true that no great epic poem (unless Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* be an exception) has been written, at any rate in English, since *Paradise Lost*.

In his *Life* of Milton Johnson says "There prevailed in his time an opinion, that the world was in its decay. It was suspected that the whole creation languished, that neither trees nor animals had the height or bulk of their predecessors, and that everything was daily sinking by gradual diminution. Milton appears to suspect that souls partake of the general degeneracy, and is not without some fear that his book is to be written in 'an age too late' for heroic poesy." The opinion to which Johnson refers "is said to have been first propagated by Dr Gabriel Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, in a work entitled 'The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature proved by Natural Reason,' 1616"—C. H. Firth.

44, 45 *or cold Climate*. Here he touches on what was a lifelong opinion. Thus in his poem *Mansus* (1638) he apologises for his Latin poems on the ground that his Muse was reared in the chill north, while in the *History of Britain* he complains that the English lack "the sun [which] ripens wits as well as fruits," (*P. W.* v 240). We find the same idea in the *Reason of Church Government* ("if there be nothing adverse in our *climate*, or the fate of this *age*," i.e. adverse to the composition of a great poem) and in the *Arcopagitica*, see *P. W.* II 53, 479.

or years, perhaps not far short of sixty, see p. xliii.

wing, his favourite emblem of inspiration, cf. III 13, VII. 4.

46 *depressed*, used proleptically, and with an antithesis to "raise," 43.

53 The close of the fourth book describes how Satan was driven out of Eden by Gabriel. In the intervening books, v—VIII, there is very little advance in the action of the poem, except that Adam receives warning of his Enemy through Raphael. See "The Story of the Poem," *Introduction*, pp. lv, lvi.

54, 55 At his first entrance into Eden Satan had overheard Adam and Eve speaking about the Tree of Knowledge and thus learned the one thing in which to tempt them and compass their ruin (IV 408—535).

fraud, in the general sense 'deceit, guile', see 89, 285. Cf. *The Prayer-Book*, "Whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the devil" (the Collect in 'The Visitation of the Sick').

59 *From compassing the Earth* Cf *Job* 1 7, "And the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it"

cautious of day, i.e. avoiding it, cf "rode with darkness," 63, 64

60—62 Cf *IV* 549—588, where Uriel is described as coming to warn Gabriel, who guarded the eastern gate of Paradise with Cherubim, that one of the outcast evil angels has found his way into the "garden"

Uriel, supposed to be one of "the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth," *Revelation* v 6, "which are before his throne," 1 4 Cf *Paradise Lost*, III 648—658 Uriel is mentioned in 2 *Esdras* IV 1, v 20, x 28 Tradition identified him with the angel whom John saw "standing in the sun," *Rev* xiv 17, and regarded him as the "regent of the sun" (III 690) and dispenser of heat Thus Heywood says that the four quarters of the world are assigned to the government of four angelic beings, and "The South, whence Auster comes, rules Uriel" (*Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*, 1635 ed., p 214) Cf too Henry More.

"The fiery scorching shafts which Uriel

From Southern quarter darted with strong hand,"

(*Song of the Soul*, Cambridge Ed, 1647, p 53) Possibly the whole conception of his attributes originated in the meaning of his name, viz. 'fire of God'

63—66 First he gives an astronomical, then a geographical (76—82), account of Satan's wanderings

"Of the seven days during which Satan went round and round the Earth, always keeping himself on its dark side, three were spent in moving from east to west on the equatorial line, four in moving round from pole to pole, [i.e.] from north to south and back,—in which second way of moving he would traverse (or go along) the two colures,—viz two great circles, so named by astronomers, drawn from the poles Originally all great circles passing through the poles were called *colures* (κῆλουμεροι, curtailed), but the term was at length confined to the two great circles drawn from the poles through the equinoxes and the solstices respectively The one was called the Equinoctial colure, the other the Solstitial"—*Masson*

67 *the coast averse*, the side of Paradise away from the gate where the Cherubim kept watch (*IV* 542—554), that this was the north side is shown, as Keightley noted, by the position assigned to the Tigris in *IV*. 223—232 *coast*, see G

69—73 He identifies the Tigris with the river that "went out of Eden to water the garden," *Genesis* ii. 10

71 *of Paradise*; which is situated on the level summit of a hill (iv. 132—135, x. 1065) a tradition due to *Ezekiel* xxviii. 13, 14. Gk. *παράδεισος*, a park; a word of Persian origin

"Eden," it should be noticed, means the whole district of Asia in which the first inhabitants of the Earth dwelt. "Paradise" being the "garden" in the east of this district (*Genesis* ii. 8) After Adam and Eve were banished from "Paradise" they still "Through Eden took their solitary way," xii. 649

73 *Rose up* We have the same rhythm expressing the same effect in i. 10 and iv. 229

75 *involved in*, wrapped in Lat. *involvere*

76—82 "The Fiend, on leaving Eden, had gone northward over the Pontus Euxinus or Black Sea, and over the Palus Mæotis or Sea of Azof, and so still northward, over what is now Russian territory, as far as beyond the Siberian river Ob or Obe, which flows into the Arctic sea; whence, continuing round the pole and descending on the other side of the globe, he had gone southward again as far as the Antarctic sea and pole. So much for his travels north and south. In *length*, i.e. measured as longitude in an equatorial direction, his journeys had extended from the Syrian river Orontes, west of Eden, to the Isthmus of Darien, and so still west, completing the great circle [of the world] to India on the east of Eden. Observe how true to the imagined reality is the mention of Ganges here before Indus. In the circuit described Satan would come upon the Ganges first."—*Masson*

77. *pool*, i.e. inland sea; used in allusion to its classical name, ἡ Μαιωτικὴ λίμνη, *Mæotis Palus*. So in *P. R.* iv. 79 he calls it "the Tauric pool." Cf. "the Asphaltic pool" = the Dead Sea, i. 411. The river *Ob* is mentioned several times in Milton's *History of Moscow* (i.e. Russia), one of his minor prose-works, not published till 1682.

79 *antarctic*, south. "No particular place is mentioned near the South pole, there being [there] all sea or land unknown."—*Newton*

81 *Darien*, i.e. the Isthmus of Panama

82 *the orb*, the whole world—*orbis terrarum*

83 *narrow*, careful, scrutinising closely

86 "Now the Serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made," *Genesis* iii. 1. Cf. 560

87, 88 *irresolute Of thoughts revolved*, i.e. a debate that for a long

time came to no decision in regard to—no settlement of—the thoughts pondered over *sentence*, decision, Lat. *sententia*.

89 *imp*, evil spirit.

90 *suggestions*, temptations, see G.

95 *doubt*, suspicion

98 *passion*, deep feeling, emotion The alliteration emphasises the intensity of his emotion

99 Cf VII 328, 329 (part of the account of the Creation)

“Earth now

Seemed like to Heaven, a seat where gods might dwell”

100. *seat*, abode, dwelling-place, cf the similar use of Lat. *sedes*

103 M is fond of comparing the motions of the stellar bodies (=“other heavens”) to a “dance”, cf v. 178, 620—624, VIII 125

104 *officious*, that serve thee, see G

105 *as seems* Cf VIII 15—38, where dealing with the same thought M uses the same cautious language—e.g. “that seem,” 19, “for aught appears,” 30. Probably his reason was that he thought that some of the heavenly bodies might be inhabited (VIII 148—176) especially the Moon (III 459—462, VIII 142—148)

107 *sacred*, used in reference to “light”, see 192, note
influence, see G

110 *virtue*, power, efficacy, see G

112 *animate*, see G

113 *growth, sense, reason* “The three kinds of life rising as it were by steps [‘gradual,’ 112], the vegetable, animal and rational, of all which Man partakes, and he only; he grows as plants he lives as all other animated creatures, but is over and above indued with reason”
—Richardson See note on v 469

115 *joy in aught* One joy is left to him, but only one (477—479).

119 *place*, implying ‘fit place to dwell in’ *refuge*, i.e. from his misery

126—128 Cf the sentiment of the proverbial line *solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris* Contrast P R I 397—402

130 *him destroyed*, a *dative* absolute construction In Elizabethan, as in modern, English the absolute case is the nominative, but in Old English it was the dative Morris quotes Wychif, *Matthew* xxviii 13, “Thei han stolen hum *us* slepinge” With the present participle M always uses the nominative absolute—cf 312, 1147 so usually with the past participle, but in his fondness for classical constructions he *sometimes* employs the old idiom as suggesting more

the Latin ablative absolute Thus "*me* overthrown," *S. A.* 463, has more of a Latin sound than "*I* overthrown" Cf again VII. 141—143

"This inaccessible high strength, the seat,
Of Deity supreme, *us* dispossessed,
He trusted to have seized"

(It is, I think, just possible from the punctuation of the original editions that M. intended "*him* destroyed" as an ordinary accusative after "*follow*" in 133, but apparently no editor takes the passage so)

133 *Follow*, i e fall, like man himself, into destruction

139—154 Cf VII 131—167

140—151 Cf the "Argument" of bk VII "God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declared His pleasure to create another World, and other creatures to dwell therein"

140 *in one night*, that in which the rebellion in Heaven began, see V 642—717, 743 *et seq*

141 *well nigh half*, rather, "a third part," *Revelation* XII 4 The number of the outcast Angels was a point much disputed among the Schoolmen

142. *name*, cf Lat *nomen* in the sense 'race, stock'

145 *virtue*, efficacy, power; see G

146, 147 *if they are his created*, which he denies when addressing his followers, V 859—863, telling them that they are "self-begot, self-raised," 860 Yet he knew and elsewhere (IV. 42, 43) admitted to himself the truth

147—151 Cf Satan's words at his first sight of Adam and Eve (IV 358—360)

"O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold?

Into our room of bliss thus high advanced

Creatures of other mould, Earth born perhaps"

150 *base original*, mean origin; referring to "earth," 149

155 "He shall give his angels charge over thee," *Psalms* xc1 11

156 *flaming ministers*, the Cherubim (61, 62), cf IV. 797, 798

"So saying, on he led his radiant files,

Dazzling the moon" (i e the ranks of Cherubim)

157 *earthy*, so the original editions, the mis-reading *earthly* occurs often in modern texts

166 *This essence*, i e the fiery ether of which M conceived the Angelic forms to consist, as is shown by passages like I 117, V 499, VI 330, 433, and the discourse on Angels in his *Christian Doctrine*, I VII—P IV IV 185, 186 After their rebellion the "liquid texture"

(VI 348) of the forms of the evil Angels degenerated into a "gross" substance (VI 661), which tended more and more to "imbody and imbrute" (*Comus*, 468). That the forms of the fallen Angels changed was a doctrine taught by many of the Church-Fathers

to incarnate and imbrute, probably, I think, intransitive, in apposition to "foul descent," with "this essence" as their subject, but they may be transitive, dependent on "constrained," with "this essence" as the object

170 *obnoxious*, in the sense of Lat *obnoxius*, 'liable, exposed to'

172 Cf IV 17, 18

174 *higher*, i.e. aiming higher, against the Almighty himself

175—8 Jealousy is one of the motives that animate Satan against man, but the strongest is desire "to spite the great Creator" (II 384) Cf 178 and X 1, "the spiteful act"

176 *son of despite*, modelled on Hebraic phrases like 'sons of valour,' 2 *Samuel* II 7, 'sons of Belial,' 1 *Samuel* II 12

180 *Like a mist*, the simile is used again, XII 629—631

192 *whenas* when, so *whereas* where, both are common in Elizabethan writers, and may perhaps have been originally rather more emphatic than the simple forms, though the distinction, if it existed, was soon lost

sacred, because "God is light," 1 *John* I 5 Cf the invocation ("Hail, holy Light,") in III 1—6.

193, 194 The origin of Gray's line, "The breezy call of incense-breathing Morn," *Elegy*, 17

196, 197 Cf passages like *Genesis* VIII 21, *Leviticus* I 9

198, 199 Cf their "Morning Hymn," V 153—208

200 Newton aptly notes that M himself was an early riser, quoting the passage to that effect in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*, P W III 112 Cf *L'Allegro*, 41—68 Among the Milton MSS found at Netherby Hall in Cumberland and printed by the Camden Society was a piece of Latin verse in praise of early rising

212 *wild*, wildness

213 *hear*, so the First Ed, the Second misprints (?) *bear*

218 *spring*, clump, thicket, commonly 'a sprig, single shoot of a tree,' as in *Venus and Adonis*, 656, "Thus canker that eats up Love's tender spring"

219 *redress*, set right

228 *Compare*, used as a noun in III 138, V 467, so in Shakespeare

229 *motioned*, proposed, cf *motion* = 'proposal' in politics

233 *to study household good* Cf *S A* 1046—1049 Milton brought up his daughters on this principle Apparently he had good reason to be satisfied in this respect with his third wife, "a genteel person," says Aubrey, "of a peaceful and agreeable humour," who, according to tradition, was careful "in providing such dishes" as he liked best

241. *not the lowest end*, i e. the highest object, since "without love no happiness," as Raphael tells Adam (VIII 621)

not the lowest, a *meiosis*

245 *wilderness*, wildness

247 Scan *converse*, cf 909 So in *Hamlet*, II 1. 42

249 Cf Cicero's saying which has become proverbial, *nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*, and the familiar lines in *Childe Harold* IV., "There is a pleasure" etc

The verse is noticeable as having two extra syllables, see *Introduction*, p lxvii

264 *envy*, cf 175, note, and IV 502, 503

265 *Or this, or worse*, whether this, or worse, *be his design* (261)

265, 266 The creation of Eve (*Genesis* II 21, 22) is described in VIII 465—471 Cf the allusion in 1153, 1154

270 *virgin*, *sinless*, *innocent* *majesty of Eve*, an abstract expression for the concrete

276 *the parting Angel*, Raphael, whose last words to Adam were a warning to "beware" and "stand fast" in his obedience (VIII 633—643)

281 *May*, i e. who may

282 *thou fear'st not* "Adam had not said so expressly, but had implied as much in enlarging particularly upon [their Enemy's] 'sly assault,' 256"—*Newton*

288 *thoughts which*, the abrupt transition to the interrogative form "how found they?" marks the agitation of the speaker

harbour, dwelling place, lodging, cf 2 *Henry VI* III 1 335, 336

"Let pale faced fear keep with the mean-born man,

And find no harbour in a royal heart"

289 *misthought*, not rightly thought, a participle *so dear*, cf 228

290 *healing words*, again in *S A* 605

292 *entire*, in the literal sense of Lat *integer* (from which *entire* is derived), 'untouched by, free from' Lat *in*, not + the root of *tango*, 'to touch.'

293 *Not diffident of thee* 'It is not because I do not feel confidence in thee that I,' etc

304 *dare*, i e to offer, cf "offered wrong," 300

310 *Access in*, an increase of

314 *raised unite*, concentrate it when rused

320 *Less attributed to*, too little credit given to *Less*, i e. than she deserved Apparently M scanned *attribution*, cf VIII 12

325 *like defence*, i e equal to, a match for, his force or fraud

327 *only our foe*, she quotes Adam's argument (296—299), and then (329) endeavours to answer it

330 *front*, brow, forehead (I at *frons*), used with quibbling allusion to "affronts" in 328

334 *event*, issue, result, Lat *eventus*, cf. 405, 984

336 *Alone*, emphatic 'What is the value of these qualities till they have been tested and stood the test by their own unaided merits?' The sentiment is that of the fine passage in the *Arcopagica* where M says, "I cannot praise a cloistered virtue," i e one that does not go out into the world and face evil (*P W* II 68)

339 *As not secure*, i e as not *to be* secure *to single or combined*, to us, whether separated or together

341 *no Eden*, i e "no place of happiness, not what its name denotes"—*Keightley* "Eden" means 'pleasure'

351. *But God left free the will* On this point, as might be expected, M dwells often, cf *λ* 9, III 96—128, V 524—534 There is much bearing on the subject in chapters III and IV—on "The divine Decrees" and "Predestination"—of the 1st book of his discourse on *Christian Doctrine*

351, 352 *what obeys Reason is free*, cf XII 83—101

353 *ware*, i e wary *still erect*, always on the alert

358 *mind*, remind

361 *suborned*, procured for an evil purpose, qualifying "object"

367 *approve*, give proof of, demonstrate, see G

371 *securer*, less on our guard, "less prepared" (381) See G *thou seem'st*, to be, i e "secure"

'It may be (says Adam) that if we remain together and let the trial come to us, instead of going to meet it, we shall not be so well prepared for it when it does come as you appear to be after my warning if you think so, then go'

372—375 The rapid, rather abrupt style is meant, apparently, to indicate some displeasure on the part of Adam

372 Newton thought that Milton here had in mind the incident of his own wife's leaving him soon after their marriage, see *Introduction*, p xvi

377 i.e. for all her submissiveness she has the last word It is in these side-touches that M shows his own estimate of women Indeed the picture he draws of Eve in this book is not agreeable She is self-willed, easily flattered by the Serpent, disobedient of command (780, 781), selfish enough to drag down Adam in her fall (831), deceitful (877, 878), and so mean-spirited as to reproach him (1155—1161)

387. *Oread*, a nymph of the mountain (Gk *ὄρος* a mountain) *Dryad*, a nymph of the wood—literally of the trees (Gk *δρῦς*, an oak or any tree) *Delia*, Artemis or Diana, who was born in the island of *Delos*, the goddess of the chase, in which capacity she was attended by a "train" of nymphs M refers to her in *Comus*, 441, 442, as
"the huntress Dian

Fair silver-shafted queen for ever chaste "

392 *Guiltless of fire* The conception of fire and its uses occurs to Adam later (x 1070—1078)

Guiltless of, cf the similar use of 'innocent of'

393—395 *Pales*, a Roman divinity of flocks and shepherds. *Pomona*, the goddess of fruit (Lat *pomum*), cf v 378 The story of Pomona's being wooed by *Vertumnus*, one of the lesser rustic deities of Roman mythology, is told by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, XIV 623, *et seq*

394 *Likest*, misprinted *Likeliest* in the Second Ed Newton restored the true reading

395, 396 *Ceres*, the goddess of agriculture *Yet virgin of*, i.e. before she had become the mother of Proserpine by Jupiter

Proserpina, the Latin form, in iv 269 he uses the Englished form Proserpine

On the appositeness of the comparisons in 386—396 Pearce has an excellent note "She [Eve] was likened to the Nymphs and Delia in regard to her gait, but now that Milton has mentioned her being 'armed with garden tools,' he beautifully compares her to Pales, Pomona, and Ceres, all three Goddesses like to each other [and to Eve] in these circumstances, that they were handsome, that they presided over gardening and cultivation of ground, and that they are usually described by the ancient poets as carrying tools of gardening or husbandry in their hands "

401, 402 1 e to be returned and *to have* all things, etc , an instance of *zeugma*

409 *hellish* *ancour imminent* The word-order, a noun between two qualifying epithets, is common in M , cf 5, 1047 We find it in Greek , cf Euripides, *Phœnissæ*, 234, *υπόβολον δρας ἱρόν*

418 *more pleasant*, 1 e especially pleasant

419 *tendance*, that which they tended, the abstract word being used in a concrete sense, as often in M

423 *to*, agreeably to, in harmony with Cf *S A* 1539, "And to our wish I see one hither speeding," 1 e just as we wanted

426 *bushing*, there is no authority for *blushing*, as some texts print

429 *Carnation* an adjective , perhaps 'crimson '

436 *voluble*, in the literal sense of *volubilis*=rolling

438 *Imbordered*, planted so as to form a border

each bank, 1 e either side of the "walk" (434) *hand*, handiwork; she had planted and tended the shrubs and flowers

439, 440 There is a fuller allusion to the legend of the 'Garden of Adonis' in *Comus*, 998—1002 No doubt, M knew the long description of the 'Garden' in the *Faerie Queene*, III 6 29—49, which Keats in turn followed in *Endymion* II The allusion is not uncommon in Elizabethan writers Cf Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, v 3, "I pray thee, light honey-bee, remember that thou art not now in Adonis' garden, but in Cynthia's presence, where thorns lie in garrison about the roses", and Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victorie on Earth*, 40, "Adonis' garden was to this but vayne" The chief classical authority for the legend is Pliny, *Natural History*, XIX 4, where the gardens of Adonis and *Alcinous* are mentioned in the same sentence

revived, 1 e after he was slain by the boar According to the myth, the prayers of Aphrodite (Venus) moved the gods of the lower world to allow Adonis to return to the earth every year and pass six months with the goddess Spenser treats the story as an allegory of the immortality of love and says (*Faerie Queene*, III 6 46—48) that after his restoration to life Aphrodite would not let Adonis descend to the nether world but kept him in the 'Garden'

"By her hid from the world, and from the skill

Of Stygian Gods which doe her love envy "

440 *renowned*, 1 e through Homer's mention of him

441 *Alcinous*, the king of the Phæacians in the island of Scheria, who entertained Odysseus ("Laertes' son") in his wanderings—*Odyssey*

VII—VIII The gardens and vineyard of his palace are described in *Odyssey* VII 112—132, a description which made them proverbial for beauty. Hence the references to them here and in V 340, 341 and in Milton's third *Elegy*, 43, 44 (*non dea tam variis ornavit floribus hortos | Alcinoi Chloris*)

442, 443 Referring to the Garden of Solomon ("the sapient king") mentioned in the *Song of Solomon*, VI 2. By "fair Egyptian spouse" M means "Pharaoh's daughter," I *Kings* III 1, to whom the *Song* alludes in VII 1 ("O prince's daughter"). Some critics regard the *Song of Solomon* as an *epithalamium* on Solomon's marriage with this princess.

not mystic M inserts these words as the allusion is to Scripture—not as before, to classical legend. Contrast "feigned," 439.

445—454 Perhaps "only a narrative of what befell the poet in his younger days, when living in his father's house in Bread Street, in the City"—*Keightley*. Cf the seventh of his Latin *Elegies*, where, speaking of his youth, M says

Et modo qua nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites
et modo villarum proxima rura placent

lines which Cowper renders

"I shunned not, therefore, public haunts, but strayed
Careless in city, or suburban shade"

(Probably the "public haunt" specially meant was Gray's-Inn Walk, then the fashionable promenade, and not far from Milton's home.)

446. *annoy*, make *noisome*, pollute, see G

450. *tedded*, mown and spread out to dry. Thomson, who imitated M much, has the word in his *Summer*, "Wide flies the tedded grain," i.e. the corn-sheaves are scattered to dry. Of Scandinavian origin.

453 *for her*, because of her

454 *sums*, sums up (cf 113)

456 *plat*=plot, see G

458 *more soft*, i.e. than those of *Angels* (implied in "Angelic")

463 *That space*, i.e. for that space of time

467, 468 Cf the sentiment of the famous lines (I 254, 255)

"The mind is its own place, and in itself

Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven"

Though in, i.e. even if he were in.

471 *recollects*, in the literal sense 're-collects,' i.e. gathers together again, cf I 528 ("his wonted pride soon recollecting")

476 *for Hell*, i.e. as a substitute for, instead of

476—478. i e not hope of enjoying pleasure but hope of destroying all pleasure, save such as lies in the work of destroying

479, 480 *pass Occasion*, let slip the opportunity

483 *intellectual*, intellect, see 606, note

485 *of terrestrial mould*, i e "formed of earth" (149), a "man of clay" (176) *mould*=material, substance, as often in M

488 *to*, compared with

489 Cf Tennyson's description of Helen of Troy in *A Dream of Fair Women*

"A daughter of the gods, divinely tall,
And most divinely fair"

490, 491 i e love and beauty inspire a certain awe unless there is a still stronger influence of hate to counteract them

not approached, i e if not, the metaphor is continued in "way" and "tend" (= 'direct my course'), 493

496 *indented*, "going in and out like the teeth of a saw," says Newton, who refers to the description of the snake in *As You Like It*,

IV 3 113

"it unlink'd itself,

And with indented glides did slip away"

502 *spires*, coils, Lat *spira*, a coil, wreath Cf Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 509, "Now glaring fiends, and snakes on rolling spires"

505 "He here enumerates all the transformed serpents of which antiquity had told, viz. those into which Cadmus and his wife Harmonia were changed in Illyria, that which accompanied the Roman ambassadors from Epidaurus to Rome; and those which were regarded as the sires of Alexander the Great and of Scipio Africanus, of which the former ['he'] was said to have been Jupiter Ammon, the latter Jupiter Capitolinus"—*Keightley*

not those that changed, i e not those *serpents* that changed into themselves Hermione and Cadmus This interpretation—Keightley's—seems the best, but some editors insert a comma after "changed," taking it intransitively and treating "Hermione and Cadmus" as in apposition to "those"

506 *Hermione*, the name usually given is Harmonia The story how Cadmus King of Thebes and his wife Harmonia came to Illyria and were changed into serpents is told by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, IV. 562—602, a passage which M seems to have had again in his mind when he described the final change of Satan, X 511—532 The

Metamorphoses was one of Milton's favourite books, according to his daughter's statement, see Johnson's *Life*

506, 507 *the god, Æsculapius*, the god of medicine, whose chief seat of worship was at Epidaurus At the time of a great pestilence at Rome the oracle of Delphi bade the Romans seek the aid of Æsculapius, so they sent ambassadors to Epidaurus and the god appeared to them in the form of a serpent which accompanied them back and stayed the pestilence at Rome, where Æsculapius was thenceforth worshipped This legend also is told by Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, \v 622—744

507. *nor to which, i.e. nor those serpents* into which Jupiter Ammon was changed and was seen (i.e. by mortals)

The story that Jupiter Ammon—the "Libyan Jove," iv 277, so called in allusion to his shrine in the Libyan desert—was the father of Alexander the Great occurs in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* Dryden uses it, with obvious reference to this passage, in *Alexander's Feast*, 21—29 A similar fable represented Jupiter *Capitolinus* (i.e. of the *Capitol*) as the father of Scipio Africanus, the vanquisher of Hannibal *Olympias*, the wife of Philip of Macedon

510 *the highth*, the glory, pride, or perhaps 'the greatest man'

516 *So*, his habitual way of introducing the completion of a simile, cf. 643, 677, 1059

522 An allusion to the legend of the sorceress Circe who bewitched men with magic drugs, and then by a touch of her wand transformed them into animals (cf. "herd disguised") which she kept in subjection Cf. the account in *Odyssey* x how Odysseus came to the island of *Æa* where she dwelt, and how she changed some of his followers into swine Milton represents Comus as the son of Circe and assigns to him the attributes of the Enchantress See *Comus*, 50—77

525. *turret*, towering *enamelled*, smooth and variegated like enamel Perhaps M. recollected *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II 1 255, "And there the snake throws her enamell'd skin" (i.e. throws off, casts)

529, 530 i.e. either he actually used the serpent's tongue as an instrument of speech (although "not made" for it, 749), or he caused a voice to sound by impression of the air

532 This description of the temptation should be compared with Eve's account of the dream in which she supposed herself to be tempted, v 35—93

533 *sole wonder*, Cf. Comus's address to 'the Lady' in *Comus*, 265, "Hail foreign wonder", and *The Tempest*, I. 2 426, 427.

544 *shallow to*, without sufficient intelligence to, rather a favourite epithet of contempt with M

549 *glozed*, spoke flatteringly, see G *proem*, introduction, Gk *προοίμιον*, a prelude in music (cf "tuned"), hence a preface to a poem or speech

553 *may*, can, the original use, cf Germ *mag*. So *might* = 'could,' 598

558 *The latter I demur*, 'as to the latter—"sense," 554—I am doubtful whether it was denied to brutes, for' etc Probably this is an expression of Milton's own opinion, cf VIII 373, 374

"They also know,

And reason not contemptibly",

where "they" = the brute creation *demur*, see G

560, 561 *... thee I knew to be* the subtlest beast, because Raphael had so described the serpent when speaking with Adam and Eve (VII 494, 495)

563 *speakeable*, used actively, 'able to speak'

of mute, from being mute, an imitation of the use of *ἐκ* in Greek and *ex* in Latin to express change from one condition to another, cf the oft-quoted examples *τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότες* (Sophocles, *Œdipus Rex* 454) and Horace's *ex humili potens* (*Odes*, III 30 12) So in 712, X 720, XI 56, 57, XII 167, and in Milton's prose-works, e.g. in the *Tenure of Kings*, "raised them to be high and rich of poor and base," *P W* II 47 Cf Wordsworth, *The Recluse*, "Happier of happy though I be."

574 *apprehended*, understood

575 *roving the field*, cf *Comus*, 60, "Roving the Celtic and Iberian fields" So 'roam' is transitive in I 521

581, 582 *fennel*, of which serpents were supposed to be fond, cf Pliny, *Natural History*, XIX. 9, *feniculum anguibus gratissimum* They were also thought to suck the teats of sheep and goats. (From Newton's note)

586—588 Cf 740, 741

599, 600 *to degree Of reason*, to the extent of giving me the faculty of reason

inward, cf "internal man," 711, externally there was no change in him, 601

601 *Wanted not*, was not lacking *retained*, in somewhat loose agreement with *me* (599)

605 *or middle*, in the air

606 *f.* *r.*, similarly, used as a noun by Shakespeare; cf *Sonn et* XVI 11, "Neither in inward worth nor outward fair" In Elizabethan writers the use of an adj. as a noun is common, cf 'good,' 'sweet,' 986, 'deep,' *l.* 844, 'pale,' *l.* 1009

612 *myrrour* *Dr.* *a*, mistress (*domina*) of all Cf "Empress," 568, "Queen of this universe," 684.

613 For a more striking instance of the same alliterative effect (*r* *s*), designed to suppress the serpent's hiss, see *l.* 520--526

spirit, possessed by a spirit

615. 616 *by comparison* *s.* *c.* of herself She thinks that in his excessive compliments (cf 605--612) he has scarcely shown such "reason" (600) as he said that the fruit conferred

616 *virtue*, efficacy, power, cf 649 and see G

621. *store*, *s.* *c.* than is touched *store*, abundance, supply

623 *to their provision*, to enjoy what is provided for them

624. *birth*, produce—"what she bears", *birth* is from A S *beran*, 'to bear,' and in the original editions of *P. L.* the word is here spelt *berth* As in the passages where the word occurs in its ordinary sense it has its ordinary form, some editors think that M. intended the peculiar form *berth* to indicate the somewhat peculiar sense, and retain the form The *New English Dictionary* (which does not recognise *berth* as an independent form) quotes Dryden's translation of *Georgic* 1 196:

"The fruitful Earth

Was free to give her unexacted birth"

629 *blossoming*, blossoming, see G *balm*, *s.* *c.* the balsam tree (Gk βάλσαμος), to which "myrrh," a kind of thorny shrub, is akin Of course 'balm' and 'balsam' are the same word in origin

630 *conduct*, guidance, escort

634 *quivering fire*, an *ignis fatuus*, cf the German *elf licht*

635 *Compact of*, composed of, cf *Titus Andronicus*, v 3 88, "My heart is not compact of flint nor steel"

638--642 Cf Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, "Fiery spirits or devils are such as commonly work by blazing Stars, Firedrakes, or *Ignes Fatui*, which lead men often *in flumina*, aut *præcipitia*" (ninth ed., 1800, 1 65) The chief of these spirits were Will-o'-the Wisp and Jack-o'-the Lanthorn M. alludes to the superstition in *L'Allegro*, 104 (see Pitt Press note) and *Comus*, 433, but whether he himself 'believes in it we do not know as he is careful to add the qualifying words "they say" Cf *Comus*, 432--437

"Some say no evil thing that walks by night,
In fog or fire, by lake or moonish fen,

Hath hurtful power o'er true virginity"

640 M recollected *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II i. 39,
"Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm" (said of the mischievous Puck, cf also III i 112)

643 *fraud*, offence, crime (Lat *fraus*); or 'hurt, damage'

645 *root*, source, used perhaps with a grim, quibbling allusion to "tree"

648 *Fruitless fruit*. There are not a few of these jingling phrases in M. See note on line 11, and cf "beseeching or besieging," v 869, "feats of war defeats," *S. A.* 1278. Generally he expresses sarcasm or contempt by them. The use of this figure of speech (*paronomasia*), is specially common in late Latin writers, see Mayor's note on Cicero's 2nd *Philippic* XI 13. M uses it in his Latin writings, cf the *Christian Doctrine*, I 11, "*Natura natam se fatetur et fatum quid nisi effatum divinum omnipotentis cuiuspiam numinis potest esse?*" Something similar is found in Hebrew.

653 *Sole*, because it was the only recorded command laid upon Adam and Eve, cf IV 421, 433

daughter of his voice, a literal rendering of a Hebrew phrase which implies 'a voice from Heaven'. Wordsworth describes Duty as "Stern daughter of the Voice of God," *Ode to Duty*

the rest, for the rest—'in all else' (Lat *cetera*).

654 Cf *Romans* II 14, "these are a law unto themselves"

655—663 See *Genesis* III 1—3, the words of which M follows very closely

655 *guilefully*, because he knew that only one tree—not "all"—was forbidden them

667 *New part puts on*, assumes a new character, i.e. feigning indignant sympathy with man

668 *Fluctuates*, used literally; 'undulates' (Lat *fluctuat*) with his body

670 *some orator*, such as Demosthenes, to whom M refers in *P. R.* IV 268—271, or Isocrates, the "old man eloquent" of his Sonnet (x) "Daughter to that good Earl," and author of the λόγος Ἀρεοπαγῆτικός whence the title of the *Areopagitica* was adapted, or Cicero (cf 675, note). In *P. R.* IV 356—360 he makes the Saviour speak of the Prophets of Israel as better teachers of the true principles

of statesmanship "Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome" (i.e. orators)

672 *since mute*, i.e. not merely in Greece and Rome, but altogether, as though eloquence were an extinct quality.

addressed, ready to discuss *addressed*; see G

673 *in himself collected*, i.e. completely master of himself

673, 674 *each part, Motion, each act*, the orator's whole form, and every movement and gesture.

won audience, i.e. attention; cf. the picture of Satan addressing his followers, *λ* 458, 459

675 *in fighth began*, plunged right into the subject (*in medias res*) Probably (as Thyer remarked) M. had in mind the abrupt commencement of Cicero's first Oration against Catiline—*quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?*

680 *science*, in its original wide sense 'knowledge' (*scientia*), cf. Gray's *Elegy*, 119, "Fair Science frown'd not on his humble birth"

681, 682 Cf. Vergil's line *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*—*Georgic II* 490

685—712 See *Genesis III* 4, 5

687 *To knowledge*, i.e. in addition to

698 *how just!* how right and proper, i.e. is knowledge of good

700 *ye*, wrongly changed to *you* in some editions. Originally *ye* was used for the nominative only, and *you* for the objective cases, cf. "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you," *John* xv 16 Elizabethan writers, however, often disregarded the distinction.

701. *not feared*, i.e. not to be feared

702 *the fear*, i.e. of God. The Serpent's argument is—"Your fear of death implies injustice on the part of God but if He is "not just," then is He "not God," and so not to be feared" (701)

710—712 So Adam also reasons; cf. 932—937

710 *should*, so the original editions; *shall*, which some modern texts print, is obviously due to 708

711 *Internal Man*, though externally he is still a serpent, cf. 601

712 *of brute of human*; the same idiom as in 563

713 *So ye shall die perhaps*, i.e. *this* perhaps will be the death meant for you, of which you spoke (663)

713, 714 *put off on*, cf. the New Testament often, e.g. *Colossians* 1.1 9, 10, "ye have put off the old man and have put on the new man"

Human=humanity; 606, note

719 *On*, over; so as to influence our belief

722 *if they*, i.e. produce

729, 730 *can envy dwell* etc., a variation of Vergil's *tantum animus celestibus ira*—*Aeneid* I 11. So in VI 788, see also IV 118, 119

732 *humane*, a complimentary term, 'gracious' Some editors interpret it='human,' a sense which it does not bear in the two other places where M uses it, viz II 109, *P R* I 221

735, 736 i.e. merely to behold which might tempt

737 *impregn'd*, filled, Lat *impregnare*, cf IV 500

740, 741. Cf 586—588, I 84—86 *with desire*, cf *Genesis* III 6, "a tree to be desired"

742 *Inclinable*, learning to, inclined towards (Lat *inclinabilis*)

754 *Commends*, is recommendation of, 'makes thee seem more desirable' *infern*, proves

758 *In plam*, cf "in few," i.e. words, V. 157

768 *intellectual*, cf "wise and wisdom giving plant," 679

771 *author*, informant *unsuspect*, not to be suspected.

773, 774. 'Being ignorant of good and evil, how can I know what is to be feared?'

777 Cf *Genesis* III 6, "good for food, and pleasant to the eyes"

778. *Of virtue to*, with efficacy to, cf 865, "of divine effect to"

781 *eat*, a preterite=*ate*, so often in Shakespeare, cf *Macbeth* II 4 18

782—784 The introduction of "signs" and omens after the manner of classical writers occurs at several important points in the action of the poem Cf 1000—1003, VIII 513, 514, VI 182—207. Similarly Grotius in his *Adamus Exul*, the tragedy on the Fall of Man with which M is thought to have been acquainted, represents Eve's disobedient act as accompanied by portents—*arborque tunc et cuncta tota subsiluit solo*.

783 The pathetic effect of the alliteration is noticeable, cf the *Nativity Ode*, 186

792 *I new not eating*, i.e. that she was eating, an imitation of the Greek use of a participle after verbs of knowledge or perception, as e.g. in Euripides, *Hecuba*, 397, οὐ γὰρ οἶδα δεσπότῃς κερκημέτρος So in *S A* 840, "Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betrayed," i.e. that I was betrayed

793 *boon*, gay, cheerful, cf 'boon companion'

795 *virtuous precious*, equivalent to superlatives Ben Jonson in his *English Grammar*, bk II chap IV, refers to this use of the positive, which may have been imitated from the Greek and Latin idiom Editors quote οἷα θεῶν, *Iliad* I 381, and *sancte deorum*, *Aeneid* IV 576

796. *operation*, effect; cf. 1012

797 *To sapience*, even to the point of conferring wisdom, cf. 599 ("to degree of") *infamed*, without fame, unknown

800 *Not without*, with (Lat *non sine*)

803—805 i.e. she intends to eat of the fruit till she equals the gods ("others"), however much they may grudge ("envy") her the knowledge

805—807 The Serpent had argued that the tree was not the gift of the gods, 718—728

807 *Experience*, making trial *owe*, am under an obligation

811—813 Cf texts like *Psalms* x 11, xciv 7, *Job* xxii 13, 14

815 *safe*, not dangerous, not likely to harm, cf. the colloquial phrase 'safe out of the way' *Macbeth* (III 4 25) asks the murderer "But Banquo's safe?" i.e. disposed of, so as not to cause trouble

818 *give him to partake*, cf. the Latin idiom, as in *Aeneid* I 66, *tibi divum pater mulcere dedit fluctus*

820 *odds*, balance, advantage, cf. x 374

821 *to add what wants*, to supply what is deficient

823 *more equal* Cf Milton's earliest description (iv 296) of Adam and Eve, "Not equal, as their sex not equal seemed" Johnson says, "The superiority of Adam is diligently sustained" (*Life of Milton*) Cf iv 295—299, 635—638, VIII 540—575, x 145—156, 888—898 passages which, taken together, are evidence of Milton's own conception of the difference between man and woman. There is indeed something curiously personal in the references to woman in his poems, as though he could not refrain from expressing his own views, cf. 1182—1186

830 *to think*, i.e. of

832, 833 Cf Horace's *tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens*—*Odes* III 9 24

837 *sciential*, conferring knowledge, i.e. on those who partake of it, see G. There is a happy allusion to Milton in Lamb's essay *Oxford in the Long Vacation*, where he describes his visits to the libraries "I seem to inhale learning, and the odour of their [the books'] old moth-scented coverings is fragrant as the first bloom of those sciential apples which grew amid the happy orchard" (i.e. of Eden)

845 *divine of*, foreboding = Lat *divinus* in the sense 'prophetic of,' as in Horace, *Art Poetica* 218, *divina futura sententia*

846 *the faltering measure*, the tremulous, uneven 'beat' of his heart

851 *smiled*, cf. Lat. *rideri* in the sense 'to look pleasant.'

852. *ambrosial*, see G

853, 854 i.e. the pleading expression in her face, showing that she was conscious of guilt, served to introduce the apology she was about to make. The construction seems to be, 'excuse came as prologue and (came) to lead up to apology'—*prompt* being a verb. The alteration "*too prompt*" (adj.) is tempting, but has no authority.

864 *tasted*, if *tasted*

867 *tasted such*, i.e. tasted and found such.

872. *to admiration*, cf. F. *à merveille*, admirably, wonderfully well.

875 *to correspond*, to be the same in me as in the Serpent.

opener mine eyes, cf. 706—708, 962.

877—885 A decentful argument, contrast her reasoning in 823—825.

890 *Astonied*, astonished, cf. Job xii 6, "Upright men shall be astonished at this." See G. *Terror chill*, cf. Vergilian expressions like *gelidus tremor* and *frigidus horror*—*Laud* II 120, 121, III 29.

899 *amiable*, lovely, pleasing to the eye, of the five epithets in the line it is the only one that carries on the notion in "*fairest*," 896, and "*to sight*," 898. See G.

901 The alliteration seems to emphasize the certainty and hopelessness of her doom. *to death devote*, from Horace's line *delecta morti pectora libera*—*Odes* IV 14 18 *delecta*, see G.

910 *wild*. The epithet well marks Adam's distress: even Paradise has suddenly lost its beauty in his eyes and become "*wild*" and dreary.

914, 915 "And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman," *Genesis* II 23.

922 *hast*, so the First Ed., the Second *hath*.

922, 923 The original editions have a comma after "*dared*," with the sense—'who hast been so daring, had it been only in grazing on the fruit covetously.' Some editors remove the comma after "*dared*" and make the construction "*dared to eye*" a needless change. I think *sacred to*, devoted to (= Lat. *sacer*).

927 *so*, even so, i.e. though what is done cannot be undone.

928 *fact*, in the literal sense 'deed,' Lat. *factum*, cf. 980.

929 *heinous*, see G. *foretasted fruit*, the fruit having been tasted already, i.e. "by the serpent," 930.

932—937 This was the Serpent's argument to Eve, cf. 710—712.

939 *in earnest*, really.

940 *prime*, chief, Lat *primus*, first

944 *frustrate*, frustrated, baffled in his design, see *animate* in the Glossary

945 *Not well conceived of*, i.e. it is not to be supposed that the Almighty would act thus Cf "Nor can I think that," 938

947, 948 *lest the Adversary say* Cf *Deuteronomy* כאלו 27 For "the Adversary"=Satan, according to the meaning of the name, cf *Job* 1 6 (margin), 1 *Peter* v 8

951 *Matter of*, material, or occasion, for, cf 1177

953 *Certain to*, resolved to An imitation of Lat *certus*, with infinitive or gerund,='determined to', cf *certus eundi* and *certa mori*—*Æneid* IV 554, 564

964 *attain*, i.e. to it, viz Adam's "perfection"

965 *I boast me sprung*, cf the Homeric εὐχομαι εἶναι

967 Cf VIII 604 and the definition of friendship—"one soul in two bodies"

974 *by occasion*, indirectly

977—981 Again her deceitfulness is marked, contrast 826—831

980 *oblige*, in the sense of Lat *obligare*, to render liable to punishment, make guilty *fact*, cf 928

986 *Taste*, the sense of taste, palate *sweet*, cf 606, note.

989 Cf the proverbial phrase 'to scatter to the winds' Newton compares Horace, *Odes* I 26 1—3

998 *not deceived*, as Eve was by the serpent, Adam sinned wilfully Cf 1 *Timothy* II 14, "And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression"

999 Cf X 151—153 *fondly*, foolishly.

1000—1004 Cf 782—784 (with note)

1003, 1004 It has been remarked that this is the only passage in the poem where M uses the phrase 'Original Sin', the doctrine expressed by it he discusses in the treatise on *Christian Doctrine*, I VII, XI (*P. W.* IV 193—195, 260—262)

1007 *that*, so that

1009 *swim*, revel, cf XI 625, "swim in joy" So in the *Faerie Queene*, I 12 41, "Yet swimming in that sea of blissful joy"

1011 Cf Horace's *spernit humum fugiente penna*—*Odes* III 2 24.

1018 *elegant*, in the sense of Lat *elegans*, 'refined in taste, fastidious' Cf V 335, "tastes inelegant"

1019, 1020 "Since we use the word *savour* in both senses [physical and moral], and apply it to the understanding as well as to the palate."

—*Newton* In this rather far-fetched thought M is really playing upon the two senses of Lat *sapere*, 'to taste' and 'to have discernment, be wise'—both *sapience* (1018) and *savour* (through the French) coming from *sapere* *Newton* quotes the same quibble from Cicero's *de Fimbriis* II 8, *nec enim sequitur ut cui cor sapiat et non sapiat palatum* "Taste," e g 'man of taste,' lends itself to the same sort of word-play

1026 *For*, instead of

1027 Cf *Exodus* xxxii 6

1034 *toy*, caress

1042 Cf *Proverbs* vii 18

1046—1052 Contrast the earlier description of Adam's sleep (v 4, 3) 15

"aery light, from pure digestion bred,

And temperate vapours bland"

1050 *unkindly*, not natural *fumes*, vapours, as of intoxication, cf Dryden, *Aurengzebe*

"Power like new wine does your weak brain surprise,

And its mad fumes in hot discourses rise"

1056, 1057 *confidence righteousness honour*, i e "were gone"

1058 *Shame*, personified, 15 in 1097 In the original editions the sense was obscured by the omission of a stop after "shame"

1058, 1059 *he covered*, cf *Psalms* cix 29, "Let mine adversaries be clothed with shame"

but his robe Uncovered more, i e Shame, till then unknown to them (11 313—318), made them conscious of their nakedness. The thought is worked out in his *Christian Doctrine*, I 111—P IV iv 264

1059—1062 See *Judges* xvi 4—20, and cf *Samson Agonistes* almost *passim* There is a striking application of the story in *The Reason of Church Government*, bk II—P. W II 506, cf also the allusion in *Eikonoklastes* xxii

the Danite, cf the description of Samson's father Manoah in *Judges* xiii 2, "a man of Zorah, of the family of the Danites," i e of the Tribe of Dan

1061 Some editors have put forward the view that here and in the three lines of *S A* where the name occurs M treated the second syllable of *Dahlah* as short or unaccented, e g *Dalilah*, a scansion which seems to me 15 unpleasant as it is needless The correct accentuation is *Dalilah* (=Daleelah), and the last two syllables form a trochee or "inversion of rhythm" such as M admits into any foot of his blank verse, see p 121 Thus the present line, I think, runs

"Of Philistia^l in Dalilah, | and wak'd,"

the third foot having no stress or accent, see p lxii

The lines in *S A* in which the name comes are -

"Was in the vale of Sorec, Dalilah," 229

"Than Dalila^l thy wife," 723 (a short verse)

"The sumptuous Dalila | floating this way," 1072

In each verse the trochee is rhythmic and quite regular 'Dalilah' follows the first syllable of the Greek form, the form in the Authorised Version, 'Delilah,' is nearer to the Hebrew. As printed in *S A* the name has no *h*, perhaps an intentional difference, *M*. being extremely particular where *sound* was affected

1062. *they*, i.e. "waked"

1064. *strucken*, cf *The Comedy of Errors*, I 2 45, "The clock hath strucken twelve upon the bell" The forms of the preterite and past participle of *strike* vary greatly in Elizabethan English

1068. *worm*, serpent, cf *Antony and Cleopatra*, V 2 243, where Cleopatra asks for the asp or serpent to kill herself, "Hast thou the pretty worm of Nilus there?"

1069. *true in*, i.e. in regard to

1079. *the last*, the worst, greatest, cf Lat *extremus*, *ultimus* of the first, i.e. lesser evils, which they may well expect, seeing that they have already experienced the greatest of evils, viz shame

1080—1082 Cf X 723—725, XI 315—317.

1083. *this earthly*, i.e. shape, or "earthly" might be a noun = 'mortal nature,' as in VIII 453, "My earthly by his Heavenly overpowered"

1086—1088 Cf IV 244—246

"Both where the morning sun first warmly smote

The open field, and where the unpierced shade

Imbrowned the noontide bowers—"

'unpierced,' i.e. by the sun

1087. *To star* Newton quotes Statius, *Thebais* x 85, 86, *nulla penetrabilis astro | lucus iners*, which perhaps suggested Spenser's description of the grove "Not perceable with power of any starr," *Faerie Queene*, I 1 7 Cf *Arcades*, 88, 89

"Under the shady roof

Of branching elm star-proof"

1088. *brown*, dark, see G *cover me*, cf *Revelation* vi 16

1090. *them*, the "Heavenly shapes," 1082

1091. *as in*, seeing that we are in, Lat *ut*, cf X 978

1101—1111 The reference is to the banyan-tree or Indian fig

(*ficus Indica*) Warton pointed out that M has followed closely—cf the numerous verbal similarities—the account of this tree in Gerard's *Herball*, 1597 (the standard Elizabethan work on botany), where it is called "the arched Indran Fig tree" Gerard, who took his information on the subject from Pliny, *Natural History*, VII 5, says

"The ends [of its branches] hang doune, and touch the ground, where they take roote and grow in such sort that theyr twigs become great trees, and these, being grown up unto the like greatnesse, do cast their branches or twiggy tendrels into the earth, where they likewise take hold and roote; by means whereof it cometh to passe that of one tree is made a great wood or desart of trees, which the Indians do use for coverture agunst the extreme heat of the sun Some likewise use them for pleasure, cutting doune by a direct line a long walke, or as it were a vault, through the thickest part, from which also they cut certan loopholes or windowes in some places, to the end to receive thereby the fresh cool air that entreth thereat, as also for light that they may see their cattell that feed thereby From which vault or close walke doth rebound such an admirable echo or answering voice The first or mother of this wood is hard to be known from the children"

The description of the size of the leaves of this tree—"broad as Amazonian targe," 1111—is due to the same source, Gerard reproducing Pliny's mis statement that *foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem Amazonicæ habet* The description is inaccurate as the leaves of the *banyan* are small it is the *banana* or plantain-tree that has large leaves which "are used, on the coast of Malabar, in the same manner as here by Adam and Eve"—*Keightley* Pliny in describing the *Ficus Indica* evidently united the characteristics of the *banyan* and *banana*, and apparently writers even later than M repeat the confusion The *banyan* from its peculiar character is described in many early travels, e g in Sir Thomas Herbert's (1634) and Tavernier's (1684).

1103 *Decan*, the name was often applied to the Indian peninsula in general, i e so as to include Malabar

1111 Cf. Vergil's reference to the 'crescent shaped shields' (*lunata peltæ*) of the Amazons, *Æneid*, I 490 *targe*, see G

1113 Cf the marginal rendering in *Genesis* III 7, "things to gird about"

1115 *of late*, i e as compared with the remote events of which the poem treats, not strictly "of late" in relation to Milton's own time, because the date of Columbus's discovery was 1492

1117 *With feather'd cincture*. Hence Gray's phrase, "feather-cinctur'd chiefs," spoken of the Indians of South America, *The Progress of Poetry*, 62

1127—1131. Cf 351—356

1140, 1141 Cf Eve's words "what is *faith* unassayed?" 335 *approve*, cf 367 *owe*, possess, see G

1144. Cf Homer's τοῖόν σε ἔτος φύγεν ἔρκος δδόντων

1154 Cf 265, 266, note

1155 *the head* An allusion to 1 *Corinthians* xi 3, "the head of the woman is the man" So in IV 443

1158 *facile*, yielding *gainsay*, oppose my wish

1159 Alluding to 372—375

1163, 1164 *the lot*, i.e. that you have to offer me, "*thy love*" is a needless change. *The recompense*, i.e. that you make *for my love* to you

1164, 1165 *expressed Immutable*, shown to be unchanging, the words refer to Adam's love for Eve, which he had "expressed," i.e. demonstrated, so strikingly, cf 961, 962

1175 *secure*, feeling sure

1182—1186 No doubt, an expression of Milton's own opinion

1183 *women*, he may have dictated *woman*

1189 *contest* M accents both noun and verb (x 756), as we do the verb alone, *contést*, cf XI 800, "In sharp *contest* of battle found no aid"

BOOK X.

1 *heinous*; cf IX 929 *despiteful*, full of spite, i.e. against the Almighty, see IX 175, note

5—7 Contrast IX 811—816

9 *with free will armed* Cf 46 and see IX 351, note

10 *Complete to*, fully equipped so as to, qualifying "mind" or "Man" Some editors remove the comma of the original editions after "armed," which they connect with "complete" But the rhythm seems to me to favour a slight pause at the end of verse 9

12 *they*, i.e. "Man," 9, used collectively, as in *Genesis* i 26

14 *which*, i.e. "injunction," 13

16 *manifold in sin* "The Divines reckon up several sins as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit, namely, pride, avariciousness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience, etc"—*Newton*. M has a passage to this effect in the *Christian Doctrine*, I. 21.—*P W IV 254*

18 *The Angelic guards*, i.e. the Cherubim, cf. I. 61, 62, 156, 157

19 *by this*, i.e. time, cf. *Julius Cæsar*, I. 3 125, "And I do know, by this, they stay for me"

20, 21 *had stolen Entrance*, as is described in IX 69—76.

29 i.e. to make appear accountable = to explain, justify
accountable, in the sense 'that can be accounted for', not, as more often, 'liable to render account'

32 *his secret cloud* The description is based on passages like *Exodus xxxiii 9, 10*, *1 Kings viii 10, 11*, *Ezekiel x 4*. to which (and others) M refers in the chapter, I 11, of his *Christian Doctrine* that treats "Of God"—*P W IV 29* Cf the fuller allusion in III 378—381

33 "And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thunderings and voices," *Revelation iv 5* Where he is describing Heaven M draws largely on the Book of *Revelation*, as we should expect

35 *charge*, duty, office, viz of guarding Man, cf. IX. 157

38 *Foretold*, having been warned *so lately*, see III 80 *et seq*

39 *the gulf*, of Chaos, cf. 253, 366, III 70

40 *speed*, be successful in

42 *flattered*, cf. IX 532—548, 606—612

lies, cf. IX 703—709, 716—730

45 *moment*, force = Lat *momentum*, the metaphor being taken from a balance, cf. "inclining" (46), "even scale" (47) So in VI 239

48. *rests*, remains, Lat *restat*, cf. 3 *Henry VI v 7 42, 43*

"And now what rests but that we spend the time

With stately triumphs?"

pass, should be pronounced

50 *presumes vain*, i.e. to be vain, cf. Adam's words IX. 928—937.

52 *By some immediate stroke*, see 210 Cf the *Christian Doctrine*, I 211, "Under the head of death, in Scripture, all evils whatever, together with everything which in its consequences tends to death, must be understood as comprehended, for mere bodily death did not follow the sin of Adam on the selfsame day, as God had threatened"—*P W IV 263*

54 *as bounty*, i.e. has been scorned Man had shown scorn of

the gifts of the Almighty by seeking something more which was forbidden him

55—57 Cf *John* i 22, "For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son "

Viceregent, i.e. ruling in place of the Father

58 *may*, so the First Ed., the Second has *might*.

59 *Mercy justice* Cf *Psalms* lxxxv 10 and see the *Nativity Ode*, 141—144

60 *his Mediator* M. discusses the "Mediatorial office" of Christ in the *Christian Doctrine*, i 17.

63—67 For similar passages see III 138—142, 384—389, VI 680—682, 719—721, and cf *Hebrews* i 3, "Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high "

67 *Expressed*, showed forth

70, 71 Cf *Matthew* xvi 5, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased "

74 *time*, i.e. the appointed time, cf III 284, "Made flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed "

for so I undertook, as was related in III 222—265 See "The Story of the Poem," *Introduction*, p. lv

77 *derived*, turned aside Lat *derivare*, 'to divert a stream from its channel,' hence figuratively, 'to turn aside, divert '

79 *Them*, "Justice" and "Mercy "

80 *need*, be necessary, cf the intransitive use of "want," 869 *train*, i.e. of Angels to accompany him

82 *the third*, the Serpent

83 *Convict*, convicted, see *animate* in the Glossary

84 *Conviction*, proving guilty, this is not necessary because the Serpent has admitted his own guilt by flight The line emphasises the words "convict by flight "

86 *Of high collateral glory* Cf 64 ("Toward the right hand ")

86—88 Compare the description of the Son accompanied to the gate of Heaven by a host of Angelic beings as he goes forth to create the Universe, VII 192—209 *Thrones Powers*, etc., titles of the Heavenly beings, see *Appendix*, pp. 149, 150

88, 89 Cf VII 617—625 *coast*, region, see G

90, 91 Cf Raphael's account of his descent from Heaven to Paradise, VIII 110—114

92 The time is determined by *Genesis* iii 8 ("in the cool of the day ")

94 *usher*, see G

95 *more cool*, i e than "the evening cool" not a very happy play on words

96 *Intercessor* "And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor," *Isaiah* lix 16 Cf III 219, XI 19. Milton deals with the subject of Christ's intercession for man, as one aspect of his office as 'Mediator,' in *Christian Doctrine*, I xv —P IV. IV 301, 302

97—223 The whole scene follows *Genesis* III. 8—21 closely, the words of the Scripture being worked into the text, just as in Shakespeare's Roman historical plays the language of North's *Plutarch* is constantly reproduced In many passages of the poem, especially where he represents the Deity as speaking, M reproduces the Scripture thus, merely adapting it to the form of blank verse

106 *obvious*, in the sense of Lat *obvius*, coming to meet, see G

112 *apparent*, clear, manifest, see G

120 *still*, ever, always

121, 122 Cf IX 1051—1059, 1070—1098

128 *My other self* = *ἑρεπὸς αὐτοῦ*, *alter ego*, applied to a very intimate friend Cf VIII 450, "Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self" (spoken to Adam in reference to Eve).

131, 132 The lines are suggestive of *Lycidas*, 6, 7.

135 *should I*, i e *even* if I should

145 *she her*, emphatic

146 *Before*, in preference to

149, 150 See IX 265, 266 (note), and cf. IV. 440, 441

150—156 We have the same sentiments—no doubt, Milton's own—expressed more fully in VIII 537—542, 567—576 See also IX 823, note

154 i e such as were seemly while subject to her husband's government

155, 156 *part person*, terms drawn from the stage 'It was for you to play the part (cf IX 667) and character (Lat *persona*) of ruler' Cf the expression *dramatis personæ* So in *P R* II 240

157 *in few*, i e words, cf *Henry V* I 2 245 So "in plain," IX 758

161 *Bold*, as when she plucked the forbidden fruit (IX. 780, 781)
loquacious, as in her argument with Adam (IX 273 *et seq.*).

165 *unable*, qualifying "Serpent"

166 *on him*, Satan *made him*, the Serpent

167. *end, object*

169. *Mere to serve*, i.e. that the Serpent was only the instrument of Satan

173. *rejected*, because they had an inner application, viz. to Satan, which, for the time, was to be hidden from Adam, who would suppose that they referred to the Serpent. Later (1033—1035) Adam perceives the application

judged as then lost, an inversion of order, 'as was then thought best'

175—181. See *Genesis* iii 14, 15.

181. *Her seed*, i.e. in the person of the Son of Man (183).

184. *thus verified*. The 'verification' described (183—190) is of the last and most significant words of the whole curse, viz. "Her seed shall bruise," etc (180)

183. *Mary, seed of Eve*, repeated from v. 387. The thought is similar to that which makes Christ "the last Adam," 1 *Corinthians* xv 45

184. "And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," *Luke* x 18

185. Cf *Ephesians* ii 2, "the prince of the power of the air," referring to Satan

It should be remembered that tradition identified the fallen Angels with the "demons" of classical mythology who were supposed to inhabit the four "elements" of air, earth, fire and water. M alludes to this belief in various passages; cf ii 274, 275, 397—402 (notes), and *P. R.* ii 121—126. It is, however, especially as the "demons" or rulers of "the air" that he represents Satan and his followers (i.e. after the Fall of Man). Cf 188, 189 and *P. R.* i, where Satan summons a council of his followers in "mid air" (39), and addresses them, 44—46

"O ancient powers of air and this wide world

(For much more willingly I mention air,

This our old conquest, than remember Hell)"

185—190. Based on the following texts *Colossians* ii 15, *Psalms* lxxviii 18, *Romans* xvi 20. Cf. iii 247—256

191. *his fatal bruise*, i.e. Satan's

207. *birth, origin*

213. *suffer change*, cf 651 *et seq.*

214, 215. See *Philippians* ii 7, *John* xiii 5

217. *slain*, apparently for the purpose, as hitherto it has been implied that the beasts were not killed by each other (see 710, note) or by Adam

218 *repaid*, i.e. for the loss of their old skin "Pliny mentions some lesser creatures shedding their skins in the manner of snakes, but that is hardly authority sufficient for such a notion as this"—*Newton*

219 *thought not much*, cf *The Tempest*, I 2 252

his enemies, because it was their sin that necessitated His sacrifice

222 *robe of righteousness*, see *Isaiah* lx1 10

225 "The only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father," *John* 1 18

229 *was sinned and judged*, for the use of the impersonal construction cf VI 335, 336

"Forthwith on all sides to his aid was run

By Angels many and strong" (i.e. *Lat cui sum est*)

230 Sin as a personified figure is introduced under the title Hamartia (Gk *ἀμαρτία*, fault, sin) in Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*, VII 27, cf too his *Apollyonists*, I 10 *et seq*, and Spenser's description of Error, *Faerie Queene*, I 1 14 *et seq*. For the personification of Death we may remember *Revelation* vi 8, and the *θάνατος* of Euripides' *Alceste*. Death is found too among the allegorical figures of the Morality plays, and in Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, VII 7 46

231 *In counterview*, i.e. opposite each other, one "on either side" (II 649) of the entrance, *vis à vis*. Cf 235

231, 232 *the gates Now open wide*. Cf the description in II 871—889 how Sin, "the Portress of Hell-gate," opened "the infernal doors" to let Satan pass out on his journey through Chaos to the new-created World and then could not shut them. *Now*, emphatic

232 *outrageous*, see the noun in the Glossary

235 *O Son*. M makes Sin the daughter of Satan, and Death ("the sin born monster," 596) the offspring of Satan and Sin ("the incestuous mother," 602). See II 727—814. The allegory is based partly on *James* 1 15, "Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death."

236 *author*, parent *thrives*, succeeds, prospers, cf 360

241 *avengers*, so the Second Ed, the First Ed has *avenger*, but cf "their revenge," 242

like this, i.e. so well as this, qualifying "can fit"

246 Cf 263, 358, 359, and the "Argument" of the book, lines 6, 7 ("by wondrous sympathy")

249 *secretest*, cf *Macbeth*, III 4 126, "the secret'st man of blood" *Thou, my shade*, i.e. shadow, cf I 12, note. Sin and Death are always introduced together in the poem an allegory of their connection.

253 *Stay*, hinder *his*, Satan's.

256 *unagreeable*, unsuitable *found*, build, Lat *fundare*, to lay the foundation of

257 *this main*, the "sea" (286) of Chios, "the foaming Deep," 301

260, 261. "*Intercourse*, passing frequently backward and forward, *transmigration*, quitting Hell once for all to inhabit the new creation, they were uncertain which their lot should be"—*Richardson*

264. *meagre*, in the literal sense 'lean,' F *maigre*, cf the conventional representation of Death as a skeleton

266, 267 *err The way*, i.e. miss, or wander from

274. *ravenous fowl* "Of vultures particularly it is said by Pliny, that they will fly three days beforehand to places where there are future carcasses—*triduo antea volare eos ubi cadavera futura sunt* [*Nat Hist* x 6] And (what probably gave occasion to this similitude in Milton) Lucan has described [VII 831—835] the ravenous birds that followed the Roman camps, and scented the battle of Pharsalia"—*Newton* Cf *Julius Caesar*, V 1 85—87, where on the morning of the battle Cassius says

"ravens, crows, and kites

Fly o'er our heads, and downward look on us,

As we were sickly prey," (i.e. as if)

though, the reading *through* has no authority

279 *So*, see IX 516, note *Feature*, shape, form, as commonly in Shakespeare, from the literal meaning 'make,' O F *facture*, Lat *factura* M purposely uses rather a vague word which leaves much to the imagination, cf the description of Death in II 666—668

"The other Shape—

If shape it might be called that shape had none

Distinguishable in member, joint or limb "

279, 280 Cf *Georgic* I 376, *suspiciens patulus captavit naribus auras*

281 *Sagacious of*, scenting (Lat *sagax*) *quarry*, prey, see G

282, 283 *waste Wide*, one of his favourite alliterative effects, here suggestive of desolation

anarchy, disordered realm, an abstract word in a concrete sense, cf. VI 873 In II 988 Chaos is personified as "the Anarch old "

284—302 Lines 284—288 describe how Sin and Death collected towards the mouth of Hell the materials for their causeway lines 293—298 how Death made the materials coalesce into solid masses

suitable for the purposes mentioned in the next verses lines 299—302 how the materials were used partly to form the foundation of the whole structure, partly to construct the bridge raised on those foundations "Aggregated soil" in 293 and "gathered beach" in 299 refer to the "solid" elements mentioned in 286, while "asphaltic slime" in 298 refers to the "slimy" elements, 286 By "the rest" in 296 he means, I think, all such "solid" elements as are not included under "soil" in 293 the "slime," i.e. pitch, helps to bind these elements together the "soil" may be conceived as coalescing more easily under the petrifying stroke of Death's sceptre In 296—298 the sense obviously is that Death bound the elements together by means of his look and by means of the slime, the manner of expression is rather strained but, as it seems to me, quite Miltonic, the combination of an abstract word like "rigour" and a literal word like "slime" being somewhat similar to I 502, "flown with insolence and wine"

288 *shoaling*, apparently transitive, 'driving it in a shoal or bank'

290 *the Cronian sea*, the Arctic Ocean, from the Lat. name *Cronium Mare* (Pliny, *Nat Hist* IV 16), less used than *Mare Concidium*

291 *the imagined way*, i.e. the north east passage, then thought to be practicable and made the object of many voyages of discovery to India and the East Cf a similar allusion in the *Areopagitica*, "a passage far easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be sailed by the north of *Cataio* eastward" (i.e. even though it could) —*P W* II 69

292 *Petzora*, the gulf of Petchora in the Arctic ocean, at the mouth of the river of that name M speaks of the river "Pechora or Petzora," and of the town of the same name in his *History of Moscovia*, quoting as his authority the narratives of certain merchants of Hull who had wintered in those parts in the year 1611, see *P W*. v 396, 431

292, 293 *the Cathaian coast*, commonly explained 'the coast of China'—with doubtful correctness, however Strictly 'Cathay' was identical with China, *Cathay* being a corruption of *Kilai*, the name by which China is still known in Russia and in many Asiatic countries But formerly, till some time after 1600, the opinion prevailed that 'Cathay' was a great region distinct from China, lying north of it and stretching right up to the Arctic Ocean, comprehending, in fact, East Siberia Cathay is marked so in many old maps, and its capital was supposed to be Cambalu—i.e. Cambalu was regarded as a different city from Peking, the capital of China, though properly they were the same

I believe that this was Milton's notion of Cathay, from the references to it in the *History of Moscovia* and from the fact that in *P L XI* 388 and 390 he treats "Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can" and "Paquin [*Pekin*] of *Sinaean* kings" as two distinct cities (*Sinaean* cf *Tsin*, the title of the great dynasty from which the country derived the name *Tsina*=*China*)

rich. In the *History of Moscovia* he touches several times on the wealth and trade of the cities of Cathay—*P W v* 407 Indeed the wealth of this mysterious land had become proverbial through the reports of travellers from the time of Marco Polo onwards See chapter xx. in Mandeville's *Voyage*

294 *mace*, sceptre, cf *Henry V.* iv 1. 278, "The sword, the mace, the crown imperial" Todd quotes from the play *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, by Marlowe and Nash, "like pale Death's stony mace" (II 1 116, Bullen's ed II 320) Burke has an effective allusion to this line in the *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, part II, section v—"sooner thaw the eternal ice of his atlantic regions, than restore the central heat to Paris, whilst it remains 'smitten with the cold, dry petrifick mace' of a false and unfeeling philosophy" (Payne's ed, p 288)

296 *Delos*, one of the Cyclades Islands, in the *Ægean* Sea "According to a legend, founded perhaps on some tradition of its late volcanic origin, it was called out of the deep by the trident [cf 'as with a trident,' 295] of Poseidon [=Neptune], but was a floating island until Zeus fastened it by adamantine chains to the bottom of the sea, that it might be a secure resting place to Leto, for the birth of Apollo and Artemis"—*Classical Dictionary*

296, 297 *his look*, i.e. like the look of the Gorgons which turned men into stone

Gorgonian, petrifying, cf II 611, "Gorgonian terror"

298 *asphaltic slime*, i.e. asphalt or bitumen (cf 562), such as that which floated on the surface of the Dead Sea—thence called 'Lake Asphaltites,' and by M "the Asphaltic pool" (I 411), or simply "Asphaltis" (see 561, 562, note) Probably he here had in mind *Genesis* xi 3, where the Hebrew word used for this bituminous substance is rendered 'slime' See XII 41, note

299, 300 *Deep to the roots They fastened*, i.e. laid the foundation of the structure

mole, causeway = Latin *moles*, used of any massive structure, e.g. a dam or pier

305 *inoffensive*, free from obstacles (Lat. *inoffensus*), literally, not causing one to offend, i.e. stumble against (Lat. *offendere*)

306 *if great things* Vergil's *si parva licet componere magnis*, *Georgic* IV 176 Cf. also *Eclogue* I 24 M has the allusion in II 921, 922, VI 310, 311, *P R* IV 563, 564

307—311 Alluding to the invasion of Greece by Xerxes B.C. 480

308 *Susa*, a Persian city of the province of Susiana and winter residence of the kings of Persia, see *P R* III 288 According to tradition, Susa was founded by Tithonus, the father of Memnon (see *Il Penseroso*, 18), and Memnon built its acropolis, called after him the *Memnonium* Susa is the Shushan of *Esther* I 2 and *Daniel* VIII 2, passages of which perhaps we have an echo in "Memnonian palace"

310 *Bridging*, with the bridge of boats described by Herodotus, VII 36 See Mayor's notes on Juvenal, *l.* 173—176, for a mass of illustrations

311 The reference is to the story told by Herodotus (VII 35), that Xerxes in his anger at the destruction of his first bridge by a storm ordered the Hellespont to receive three hundred lashes from a "scourge"—*τριηκοσίας ἐπικέεσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς*—and to have a pair of fetters thrown into it Cf. Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*, 232, "The waves he lashes, and enchains the wind" (surd of Xerxes)

indignant, cf. *Georgic* II 162, *Æneid* VIII 728 (*pontem indignatus Araxes*)

313 *Pontifical*, literally, bridge making (Lat. *pons+facere*), cf. *pontifice*, 348 It has been suggested that M used the word with a sarcastic allusion to its other sense 'belonging to the Pontiff, i.e. the Pope'

314 *vexed*, storm-tost, cf. I 306 and see VII 211—213 Cf. the similar use of Lat. *vexare*, e.g. by Vergil, *Eclogue* VI 76

316 *First lighted* See III 418 *wing*, flight

317 The original editions have no comma after "Chaos" and the construction intended might be "landed to the outside," i.e. on to, but it seems better to regard the words "to the outside" as a kind of explanation of "to the self same place where" taken thus, they define the place

318 *adamant*, see G

320—324 See *Appendix*, pp 137—139

323 *interposed*, i.e. between "the confines" of Heaven and those of the World The bridge from Hell touched the outer surface of this World at the point where (1) the stair from Heaven also touched the

surface, and where (ii) the passage led down to the interior of the World. The bridge therefore resembles the middle one of three roads which form a junction

327 *in likeness*, i.e. "disguised" (330), as in III 634—644, 694

328, 329 "Satan, to avoid being discovered (as he had been before, IV 569 *et seq.*) by Uriel regent of the Sun [see IV 60—62, note], takes care to keep at as great a distance as possible, and therefore, 'while the sun rose in Aries,' he steers his course directly upwards 'between the Centaur and the Scorpion,' two constellations which lay in a quite different part of the heavens from Aries"—*Newton*

steering, steering to *His zenith*, i.e. straight upwards, towards that opening in the surface of the globe through which he had descended into the interior (III 526 *et seq.*) and Sin and Death were about to descend

332 *after Eve seduced*, after the temptation and disobedience of Eve a Latinised turn of phrase which M uses often Cf I 573, "since created man," *post hominem creatum*, S A 1433, "after his message told" See 577, 687

unminded, unnoticed, i.e. by Eve

335 *unweeling*, ignorant, i.e. of the results of her action, or of Satan's proximity See G *seconded*, repeated

336, 337 Cf IV 1113, 1114

344, 345 *understood*, i.e. being understood The original editions have a full stop after "time" in 345, making "understood" a past tense, instead of participle, with the subject 'he' omitted The correction (Tickell's) seems certain and is generally adopted now

345, 346 *joy And tidings*, probably meant as a hendiadys = 'joyful tidings'

347, 348 *the foot*, meaning, of course, the top of the bridge ("pontifice"); cf. 315—326

351 *stupendous*, in the original editions 'stupendrous'

357—360 Cf 236—239, 245—249

361 *evidence*, prove, rare as verb

364 *consequence*, connection

368 *our liberty, confined*, i.e. the liberty of us, confined

370 *fortify*, build

372 *virtue*, courage (Lat *vir'us*)

374 *odds*, advantage

375 *foil*, see G

378 *doom*, judgment, decree

379 Cf Satan's own words, II 110—112

"Evil, be thou my good by thee at least

Divided empire with Heaven's king I hold,

By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign",

where he means that he rules Hell already and hopes to rule the World, leaving Heaven to the Almighty

380 *parted*, separated; qualifying "him" (376), not "things"

380, 381 *the empyreal bounds*, the confines of the Empyrean or Heaven, which M here treats as a square ("quadrature") in allusion to the description of the New Jerusalem in *Revelation* xxi 16, previously he left its shape an undecided question ("undetermined square or round," II 1048)

orbicular, the World is always spoken of in the poem as a globe

382 *try*, i.e. and find.

384 See note on 235

386, 387 Alluding to the meaning of the name *Satan*, viz. 'Adversary'

389 *empire* = "powers" in 395, abstract for concrete

389—391 The sense is—'That have met my triumphal act, my work, viz the discovery and conquest of the new World, with your triumphal act, your glorious work, viz the construction of this bridge'

392 *continent*, i.e. continuous, unbroken, tract

394 *your*, i.e. made by you

397, 398 See the account in III 560—742 of Satan's own descent to the Earth, "amongst innumerable stars" (III 565) = "these numerous orbs" (397)

399—402 Cf Satan's promise to Sin in II 840—844, where he tells her of the new World to which he is journeying

"thou and Death

Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen

Wing silently the buxom air, embalmed

With odours there ye shall be fed and filled

Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey."

402 *thrall*, see G

408, 409 An allusion to the formula conferring supreme power on the Consuls at Rome in times of great crisis, namely, *videant* (or *dent operam* etc) *consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*

affairs, cf Lat *res*

413 "Strike" (= 'to blast') was the word applied to the evil "influence" which astrologists supposed the planets to exercise on the earth.

Cf *Hamlet*, I i. 162, "The nights are wholesome, then no planets strike" The belief survives in 'moon-struck' M. says that the planets themselves were 'blasted' by bad "influence" as Sin and Death passed near them

415 *causey*; see G

418 *his indignation*, i.e. of Chaos; cf 311

420, 421 *those*, Sin and Death. *to sit there*, cf. 230

424 *Pandemonium*, 'the home of all the demons', cf I 756

425, 426 Cf VII 131—134 The name *Lucifer*, 'light-bringer' (Gk *φωσφόρος*) is properly a Latin title of the morning-star, but it was applied by patristic writers to Satan, in allusion perhaps to the tradition of the original "brightness" of his person Cf the common misinterpretation of *Isaiah* xiv 12, ("How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer"), where "thou" refers to "Babylon," not to Satan, and the Hebrew word translated "Lucifer" should be rendered "day-star," as in the Revised Version

M says that all the names of the rebel angels in the poem, e.g. "Satan" (v 658), were titles given to them *after* their expulsion from Heaven, their former names being "blotted out and rased from the Books of Life" (I 361—363) *Lucifer* was one of these later names what the arch-rebel was called in Heaven we do not know (v 658, 659) See I 361—375, note In each of the early drafts of Milton's contemplated drama of *Paradise Lost* the name "Lucifer," not "Satan," is assigned to him, see *Introduction*, pp xxxvi—ix

426 *paragoned*, compared

427 *the Grand*, the great ones (Ital *i grandi*), being "the great consulting peers" (456) who held the council in bk II.

430 *observed*, obeyed; cf I 588

431, 432 Cf his *History of Moscovia*, "The Empire of Moscovia, or as others call it Russia, is bounded on the east by the river Ob, or Oby [see IX 78], and the Nagayan Tartars on the Volga as far as Astracan"—*P W* v 395

433 *Bactrian*, Persian, the ancient Bactria or Bactriana having been a province of the Persian empire, cf *P R* III 285

Sophi, Shah, see G

from the horns, i.e. retreats before the Turkish armies "During the sixteenth century there was continual warfare between the Persians and the Ottoman Turks, who were the masters of Asia Minor and Syria"—*Keightley*

horns, alluding to the shi'ra—a half-moon or "crescent"—of the

ensign of the Turks, cf Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, "The moony Standards of proud Ottoman" (Grosart's ed. I 31, see also II 42)

435 *Aladule*, the Greater Armenia, so called by the Turks from *Aladules*, the last king of the country, slain by the emperor Selim I (from Hume's note) A province of "Aliduli" is marked in the map of the "Turkish Empire" in Hexham's English edition (1636) of *Mercator's Atlas* There is, I think, reason to believe that M made use of this particular *Atlas* (which has full descriptions as well as maps), and took from it the names "Namancos" and "Bayon" in *Lycidas*, 162, see note thereon in the Pitt Press ed pp 156, 157

436 *Tauris*, the modern Tabriz, in the north of Persia, not far from the Armenian frontier

Casbeen, Kazvin, north of Teheran, the capital of Persia.

438 *reduced*, led back, Lat *reducere*, 'to lead back,' e.g. troops

442 i.e. in appearance he was like one of the rank and file of the host of rebel Angels

443 *from*, i.e. passing up the hall from

444—450 Editors compare *Aeneid*, I 439, 440, 586—589

his high throne, described II 1—4

445 *state*, canopy, see G

450—452 M dwells more than once on the "*faded splendour*" (IV 870) of Satan's form See *Appendix*, p 146

451 *permissive* Elizabethan writers treat the termination *ive* as passive in various adjectives Cf *As You Like It*, III 2 10, "The fair, the chaste and unexpressive she," i.e. 'inexpressible' So 'insuppressive,' not to be suppressed, *Julius Caesar*, II 1 134, and 'uncomprehensive,' *Troilus and Cressida*, III 3 198

453 Cf "the Stygian council" (II 506), used similarly of Satan's followers In describing "Hell" and its inmates M. uses terms associated with the netherworld of classical mythology, e.g. "Plutonian" (444), "Acheron" (II 578), "Lethe" (II 583), "Erebus" (II 883) His whole conception of "Hell" owes much to the classics, cf especially II 575—586 with *Aeneid*, VI 295 *et seq*

454 M. always scans *aspect*, the ordinary Elizabethan accentuation, cf 658

456. *Forth rushed*, since they sat in council "far within" the palace, away from the inferior Angels who thronged "the hall" (I 791, 792)

457 "The Devils are frequently described by metaphors taken from the Turks Satan is called the 'Sultan,' I 348, as here the council is styled the 'Divan'" — *Newton*.

divan, council, see G and cf Dryden's *State of Innocence*.

"'tis not fit

Our dark Divan in public view should sit"

The *State of Innocence* was based on *P L*, see p xiii

458, 459 Cf. the picture of a great orator in IX. 670—674

460 See *Appendix*, pp 149, 150

461 *such*, i.e. as he has described them in 460 They have, he says, a double claim to these titles implying lordship and power (i) the claim of possession, since they are now to "possess a spacious World" (466, 467) and be lords thereof, (ii) the claim of ancient right, since these titles belonged to them in Heaven The form of the commencement of the speech resembles II 11—14, v 361, 362

465. *the house of woe*, repeated from VI 877, cf also II 823 Similar descriptions of Hell are found in the Italian poets, e.g. in Tasso ("the house of grief and pain," Fairfax's translation, IX 59)

469 *Long were to tell*, cf I 507, XII 261 Like Lat. *longum est*, as in Lucretius IV 1166, *cetera de genere hoc longum est si dicere coner*.

470—480 Cf. the description of Satan's journey through Chaos (= "the Deep," 471, "the Abyss," 476) in bk II 629 *et seq*

475 *uncouth*, unknown, strange, see G M always accents *incouth*

477 *unoriginal*, having no originator, being itself "*eldest* of things," II 962

478—480 An exaggeration, since Chaos, far from "opposing" his journey, directed him on his course, II 1004—1009 He magnifies his exploits to win "transcendent glory above his fellows," II 427, 428

480 *Protesting Fate*, i.e. objecting that Fate did not mean the "secrets" of their realm to be explored thus *how*, i.e. to tell how

481, 482 Cf. Beelzebub's speech at the infernal council in II 345—348

"There is a place

(If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven

Err not), another world, the happy seat

Of some new race called Man"

499 *when is not set*, i.e. the time when this is to happen is not fixed

512 *clung*, probably a participle = 'pressed tight'

513 *supplanted*, in the literal sense 'tripped up', from Lat *supplantare*, to trip up, throw a man off his feet—a wrestler's term

515 *Reluctant*, also used literally = 'struggling against', Lat *reluctari*

517. *his doom*; as pronounced on the serpent in 175—177 Cf the "Argument" of the book

521 *riot*, i.e. rebellion in Heaven; cf Lat *tumultus*

521—529 This passage is perhaps the most striking example of alliteration in the poem, the effect being designed partly to suggest to the ear the actual sound described, partly to convey to the imagination a sense of the terror of the whole scene Thus the repeated sibilant represents the hissing, cf 15 613, and 1 768, "Brushed with the hiss of rustling wings As bees" On the other hand, the repetition of sound in "dreadful," "din," "dire," "drear" etc seems to intensify the horror of the event A similar, though less striking, instance of the same effect occurs in 11 489—492

523 *complicated*, twisted, twined together, Lat *complicare*, to tie up

524 *amphisbæna*, see G.

525 *Cerastes*, Gk κεράστης, a horned snake, from κέρατ, a horn
hydrus, a water snake; cf Gk ὕδωρ, water

ellops, Gk ἔλλοψ, mute, an epithet of fish, then used substantively for a certain sea fish (probably the swordfish or sturgeon) and later = 'serpent' *drear*, in allusion to the literal meaning of ἔλλοψ, viz mute

526. *dipsas*, a serpent whose bite caused great thirst (Gk δίψας)

526, 527 *the soil*, i.e. Libya in Africa. An allusion to the legend that as Perseus was bringing back the head of Medusa, one of the Gorgons, who had hissing snakes instead of hair, drops of her blood fell on the soil and caused the country to abound with serpents Ovid touches on the story, *Metamorphoses*, IV 613—619, while Lucan enumerates the kinds of serpents, and his account (*Punishment*, 15 699—733) was probably in Milton's thoughts

528 *Ophiusa*, the island of serpents = Gk ὄφιοσσα, i.e. ὄφιδεσσα, 'abounding in serpents', a small island in the Mediterranean, to which the Romans gave the similar name 'Colubraria,' from *coluber*, a snake, adder Now Formentera, one of the Balearic group

529 *dragon*, cf "the dragon" = Satan in *Revelation* xii Gk δράκων, serpent

529—531 Ovid speaks of the monstrous serpent Python, born from the slime left on the earth by the flood of Deucalion—*Metamorphoses*, I 434 *et seq*

535 *in station or just array*, "either on guard or drawn up in military array to receive and do him honour"—*Keightley*. Lat *in statione*, a military term = 'on guard', cf "stations" = 'sentinels, pickets,' II 412 *just*, regular, due (Lat. *justus*), cf 888

536. *Sublime*=Lat *sublimis* in its figurative sense 'uplifted' Cf. *S A* 1669, "While their hearts were jocund and sublime"

541 *changing*, i e changing *into*

541—545 The partial repetition of the alliterative effect of 521—529, to recall and point the likeness to the previous scene of transformation, is surely a very happy device

546. *exploding*, driving off the scene, see G

549 *His will*, as he willed, in opposition to "sprung up"
aggravate, make worse, heavier to bear, Lat *gravis*, heavy

550 *fair*, accidentally omitted in the Second Ed hence a wrong reading "like to that," current in later editions till Newton restored the true text

560 *Megara*, one of the Eumenides or Furies, who are described as having serpents twined in their hair

561, 562 Alluding to the apples of the Dead Sea—"that bituminous lake" Cf *Eikonoklastes*, XXIV, "these pious flourishes and colours [i e excuses], examined thoroughly, are like the apples of Asphaltis [see 298, note] appearing goodly to the sudden eye, but look well upon them, or at least but touch them, and they turn into cinders"—*P W* 1 461

lake; cf the other common name for the Dead Sea, viz. 'Lake Asphaltites'

565 *with gust*, as we say, 'with gusto,' i e pleasure in tasting

567—570 The sound is meant to echo the sense

568 *drugged*, nauseated as "with the hateful taste usually found in drugs"—*Richardson*

572 *triumphed*, i e over *once*, emphatic Man was deceived (by the Serpent) but "once", the serpents were duped "oft"

lapsed, a preterite, I think, 'fell into error'

572, 573 The original editions read

"Thus were they plagu'd

And worn with famin, long and ceaseless hiss"

It seems to me simplest to suppose that the printer misplaced the comma after "famine", if we put it after "long," then "famine" and "hiss" (a noun) are balanced with their respective epithets, and the balance gives an admirable rhythm, while the turn of phrase "worn with famine, and hiss" is quite characteristic Keightley printed

"Thus were they plagued,

And, worn with famine, long and ceaseless hiss",

taking "hiss" as a verb Other editors have followed him (some placing

a comma instead of a semicolon after "plagued") This interpretation appears to me to be open to several objections. It rather implies that the "famine" was the cause of the hissing, involves a most awkward change from the past tense in 572 to the present in 573 and then back to the past in 574, and yields, surely, an unpleasant rhythm.

575—577 No doubt, M had some authority for this tradition, but editors have failed to find it. The nearest approach to it known to Bishop Newton was the speech of the Fairy Manto in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, xliii 98

"Each sev'nth day we constrained are to take

Upon ourselves the person of a snake" (*Harrington's trans.*)

575 *some say*, a convenient phrase, under cover of which he can mention theories, yet avoid the responsibility of accepting them. Cf 668, 671 and see I. 638—642, note

577 *for Man seduced* See 332 (note), 687

578 We must remember that according to the ordinary patristic and mediæval belief which M accepted (I 358—375), the fallen Angels became the gods of classical mythology: hence there might well be among "the heathen" some tradition of the story of Eve and the Serpent. So M identifies the Serpent (Satan) with Ophion (cf Gk ὄφις, a serpent), one of the Titans and the first ruler of Olympus, and suggests that Eurynome, the daughter of Oceanus and wife of Ophion, may have been the same as Eve. Newton shewed that in the allusion to Ophion and Eurynome M had in his thoughts a passage of the *Argonautica* (I 503, *et seq.*) of Apollonius Rhodius. (On the supposed identity of the fallen Angels and the classical gods see Appendix C to bks. I. II in this edition.)

579 *purchase*, acquisition, see G

581, 582 *wide-Encroaching* "Some epithet should be added to *Eve* to shew the similitude between her and *Eurynome*, and why he takes the one for the other, and therefore in allusion to the name *Eurynome* [= 'wide-ruling'] he styles *Eve* 'the wide-encroaching,' as extending her rule and dominion farther than she should over her husband, and affecting godhead"—*Newton*

584 *Ops*, the wife of Saturn. *Dictæan*, Cretan, from Dictæ, a mountain of Crete in which island Jupiter was brought up. The legend that Zeus (Jupiter) expelled Cronos (Saturn) from the rule of Olympus the 'heaven' of classical mythology, and from sovereignty over gods and men, is touched on in *Il Penseroso*, 30

587 *Once*, i.e. when man was tempted

actual, the cause of an act, viz Eve's act of disobedience No doubt, M is alluding to the theological term "actual sin," which he defines as "crime itself, or the act of sinning," and discusses, *Christian Doctrine*, I XI—P IV 263 Cf the *Prayer-Book*, 'Articles of Religion,' xxxi

589, 590 Cf *Revelation* vi 8, "And I looked, and behold a pale horse and his name that sat on him was Death "

591 *Second*, Sin herself was first, see 235, note

593 *not better*, is it (= "our empire") not better?

599 *ravin*, prey, see G

601 *unhide-bound*, with the skin hanging loose about it, hence capable of containing much.

606 *scythe*, the traditional attribute of Time and Death Cf Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 12, "And nothing 'gainst Time's scythe can make defence "

610 *several*, different, Lat *separabilis*

612 *kinds*, species, all forms of life, cf 603—609

615 *those bright Orders*, the Cherubim, Seraphim and others

616—640 This speech is noticeable as not being so Biblical in character as most of those which M assigns to the Almighty

616, 617 M seems to have had in his thoughts *Julius Cæsar*, III 1 273, "Cry 'Havoc,' and let slip the dogs of war " The phrase 'cry "havoc",' imitated from O F *crier havot*, was an old military term for 'giving no quarter,' i e it was the signal for indiscriminate slaughter, so that "to *havoc* yonder world" was an even stronger expression than it is now

622 *that*, because

623 *enter and possess*, "terms of English law"—*Keightley* For *possess*='take possession of' cf *Romeo and Juliet*, III 2 27

624 *conniving*, tolerating, permitting, them, see G

626 *That laugh*, cf 487—490

633 *glutted*, Lat *glutire*, to swallow, cf F *engloutir offal*, see G

638 *Heaven and Earth*=the World, as often in Scripture

made pure, i e by fire, according to 2 *Peter* III 7, 12, 13 Cf III 334, 335

"The World shall burn, and from her ashes spring

New Heaven and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell "

See also XI 900, 901, XII 547—551 In the *Christian Doctrine*, I \\\III he treats of "the destruction of the present unclean and polluted world, namely, its final conflagration"—P. IV IV 488, 489

639 *To sanctify*, i e to the degree of, up to

640 *both*, viz Heaven and Earth

precedes; "shall go before those ravagers Sin and Death, and shall direct and lead them on"—*Newton* But might not the sense be 'has precedence=prevails,' the notion being that "the curse" has power for a time but will in the end be annulled? Bentley suggested *proceeds*, i e goes on, continues

642 *halleluah*= 'praise ye the Lord'

as the sound, resembling the sound, by reason of the multitude of voices, being even "as the voice of many waters," *Revelation* xix.

6 Cf v 872, 873

"He said, and, as the sound of waters deep,

Horse murmur echoed to his words applause"

643, 644 Cf *Revelation* xv 3, xvi 7 To "justify the ways of God to men" (i 26) was Milton's aim in composing *Paradise Lost*

645 *extenuate*, weaken, properly 'make slight' (Lat *tenuus*)

Next, i e they sang

647, 648 "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth And the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven"—*Revelation* xxi 1, 2, see also verse 10 and note "descending"

to the ages, i e for the succeeding ages *rise*, i e from the conflagration, cf III 334 (quoted above), contrasted with "descend"

650 *His mighty Angels*, meaning, probably, "the seven Spirits" of God "which are before his throne" and execute his commands on Earth See the description of them in III 648—658, based on passages like *Zechariah* iv 10, *Revelation* i 4, viii Of these Uriel was one, see ix 60, note

651 *sorted*, fitted, suited, cf VIII 384

In *Christian Doctrine*, I VIII he says, "All nature is subject to mortality and a curse on account of man", and that thought is the basis of this long passage (651—716) dealing with the deterioration in the physical Universe which followed the Fall of Man The main Scriptural authority for this thought which M quotes is *Genesis* iii 17, "cursed is the ground for thy sake" See P IV iv 269

656—662 *blanc* ('pale'), *influence*, *malignant*, see each in G the other five (i e planets), the fixed (i e stars), see p 140

On the astrological terms in 658—662, see pp 151, 152

663 *Which of them*, e g Orion "with fierce winds armed," i 305

665 *Their corners*, their respective quarters. *when*, i e and also the times when *confound*, mingle, make undistinguishable

666 The winds are said to "roll the thunder" because they "roll" the clouds which cause the thunder, at least, I suppose this to be his meaning

668—678 Dr Masson explains "It is poetically assumed here that, before the Fall, the ecliptic or Sun's path was in the same plane as the Earth's equator, and that the present obliquity of the two planes, or their intersection at an angle of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, was a modification of the physical Universe for the worse, consequent upon the moral evil introduced by sin But this physical alteration might be produced in either of two ways either by pushing askance the axis of the Earth the required distance, leaving the Sun undisturbed; or by leaving the Earth undisturbed and compelling the Sun to deviate the required distance ('like distant breadth') from his former equatorial or equinoctial path To indicate what 'the like distant breadth' would amount to, Milton follows the Sun in imagination after his deviation from the equatorial line tracing him, first, in his ascent north of the equator, through the constellations Taurus (in whose neck are the Pleiades, called the Seven Atlantic Sisters, as being mythologically the daughters of Atlas) and Gemini (called 'the Spartan twins,' as representing Castor and Pollux, the twin-sons of Tyndarus, king of Sparta), up to his extreme distance from the equator at the Crab, in the Tropic of Cancer, then returning with him in his descending path by Leo and Virgo, till he again touches the equator at Libra, and, for the rest, simply suggesting his similar deviation from the equator to the south by naming the Tropic of Capricorn as the farthest point reached on that side He [Milton] gives the larger space to the hypothesis of a change of the Sun's path"

668, 671 *Some say*, cf 575

the centric globe, the Earth, the centre of the Universe, according to the Ptolemaic system

676 *the Scales*=Libra (III 558)

678, 679 He has previously said that before the Fall only one season was known in Eden, viz "eternal spring," IV 268 a view held by some of the Church-fathers See also v 394, 395

680—684 "If the sun were to be always in the equator, there could never be night at the poles, the sun going round and round continually in the horizon"—*Keightley*

682 *unbought*, without any night

685—687 i.e. the sun would have prevented the snow stretching so far southward from the North Pole as it does at present, and conversely an equal distance northward from the South Pole

Estotiland, an old name, applied not very precisely, to the part of North America lying between Baffin's Bay and Hudson's Bay. The description (II 436) of the chief provinces of North America in Hexham's *Mercator* (1636) mentions both "*Estotilandia*" and "*Norumbega*" (see 696)

Magellan, i.e. the Strait of, in South America; named after the Portuguese navigator Magelhaens

687 *that tasted fruit*, the tasting of that fruit; see 332, note

688 An allusion to the story of the revenge taken by Atreus, king of Mycenæ, on his brother Thyestes, who had wronged him and been banished. how "Atreus, pretending to be reconciled to Thyestes, recalled him to Mycenæ, killed his two sons, and placed their flesh before their father at a banquet, who unwittingly partook of the horrid meal"—(*Classical Dictionary*) This spectacle is said to have caused the sun to turn aside, and M suggests that the feasting on the forbidden fruit worked a like effect

Thyestean, I think that M intended us to scan 'Thyést(e)an,' eliding the *e* of the termination, instead of accentuating it according to the correct rendering 'Thyestérn.' Good critics, e.g. Mr Bridges, recognise a similar scansion in *S. A.* 133, "Chrly|b(e)an tén|per'd steel, and frock of mál"—instead of 'Chalýbéan.' Dr Abbot scans 'Epicúrċan' in *Antony and Cleopatra*, II 1. 24, and says that "the Elizabethans generally did not accent the *e* in such words" (*Shakespearian Grammar*, p. 395)

689—691 i.e. the sun's course before the Fall must have differed from its present course otherwise the World would not have escaped extremes of heat and cold then any more than it does now

693 *sideral*, of the stars (Lat. *sidera*) *blast*, i.e. blasting "influence"

696 *Norumbega*, an obsolete name for a great tract comprehending in modern nomenclature southern Canada and the northern states of America, e.g. New York and Maine. "*Norumbega*" is marked thus both in Hexham's general map of America and also in that of "New England." In Milton's time the application of names to these distant regions was rather vague

the Samoed shore, i.e. the shore of north-eastern Siberia, near the Gulf of Obi in the Arctic Ocean. In Milton's *History of Moscovia* is a chapter on "Samoedia, Siberia, and other countries north-east, subject to the Muscovites" (i.e. Russians), *P. W.* v 403, 404, with references to Purchas's *Pilgrimage*

697 *their brazen dungeon*, suggested perhaps by the prison of the winds guarded by Æolus, cf. *Æneid*, I 52 *et seq.*

698. *flau*, a gust of wind, see G. "Gust and flau" seems to have been a common combination, cf *Venus and Adonis*, 456

699, 700 *Boreas*, the north wind, *Cæcias*, the north-east, Gk. *καίλιος* Cf Holland's translation (1603) of Plutarch's *Morals*, "like unto the north-east winde *Cæcias*, which evermore gathereth the clouds unto it" (p 379, quoted in the *Stanford Dictionary*) *Argestes*, the north-west wind, *Thrascias*, the north-north-west, Gk *θρασκίας*, also spelt *θρακίας*, i e the wind that blew from *Thrace*

702 *Notus*, the south wind, *Afer*, the south-west, lit 'the African' (Lat *afer*), i e wind, cf *creber procellis Africus*—*Æneid* 1. 85, 86

703 *Scirraliona*, i e Sierra Leone, off the west coast of Africa, literally the 'Lioness Mountain,' from Spanish *sierra*, a saw, hence a jagged mountain ridge or chain of mountains, and *leona*, a lioness It was evidently proverbial for storms, cf Hexham's *Mercator*, II 426 "Sierra Liona is a very high Mount, the toppe whereof is continually hidde with snowe from whence there comes fearefull noises, and great tempests"

703—706 To heighten the confusion of the contest between the winds from the north (699, 700) and those from the south (701, 702), these rush forth to the fray winds from either side, viz *Eurus*, the east wind, and *Sirocco*, the south-east *Zephyrus*, the west wind, and *Libecchio*, the south-west

704 *Levant and Ponent*, the rising and setting winds, i e those which come from the quarters where the sun respectively rises and sets From *F levant* and *ponent*, used thus Cf *levant*=sunrise, e g in Holland's *Pliny* (1601), 18, 33, "the Sunne rising or Levant of that day" A later word, with same sense, is *levanter*

705 *with their lateral noise*, qualifying, I think, "*Eurus and Zephyr*," as being "lateral" in relation to the north and south winds, but some editors connect the words with "*Sirocco, and Libecchio*" as describing *their* relation to "*Eurus and Zephyr*"

706 *Sirocco Libecchio*, Italian names (whereas all the others in the passage, 699—705, are classical), the two winds being peculiar to the shores of the Mediterranean and the south of Europe. Ital *sirocco*, from Arabic *sharq*, east

707 *Outrage*, see G

710—714 Previously (IV 340—347) the beasts had known neither strife among themselves nor fear of man

711 *all*, referring, of course, to the beasts

714—717 Newton well remarks on the skill with which the

transition to Adam again is effected "We have seen great alterations produced in nature, and it is now time to see how Adam is affected with them, and whether the disorders *within* are not even worse than those *without* "

719 *disburden*, himself, or perhaps 'it' = "worse" in 717

720 *miserable of happy*, on this idiom see I. 563, cf 723

723 *hide me*, i.e. who hide myself

the face Cf I. 1080—1082

728, 729 "Meat and drink propagate it ['curse'] by prolonging life, and children by carrying it on to posterity"—*Newton*

When William Lauder published in 1750 his *Essay* on Milton, with the object of showing that the poet had 'plagiarised' from a number of minor writers, mostly foreign scholars of the 16th and 17th centuries, he took certain passages of *P L*, translated them into Latin verse of various metres, and then pretended that he had found the Latin passages in the works of these foreign scholars as their writings were obscure and to a great extent inaccessible, he counted on the fraud escaping detection for some time. Thus he translated these lines into *quod comedo, poto, gigno, diris subiacet*, and pretended that the Latin occurred in the tragedy of *Adamus Exul* (1601)—a very rare work—of the jurist Grotius. But his most signal success was won over the great lines in 1261—263, which he likewise rendered into Latin iambs and professed to have found in the *Adamus Exul*. One finds the forged lines sometimes given even in modern editions of Milton, with the remark that he (M) has evidently "translated" them from Grotius. I may add that two lines earlier in this book (616, 617) were derived by Lauder from an equally fictitious hexameter—*infernique canes populantur cuncta creata*—ascribed to a work published in 1654 by a certain Jacobus Masenius, professor in the Jesuits' College at Cologne.

729, 730 *Genesis* 1:28 See VII 530, 531

733 *to succeed*, succeeding

737 *the execration*, i.e. "Ill fare our ancestor," 735 Cf. 821, 822

738 *Mine own*, the only noun to which these words can well refer is "curses" (732), but the sense is 'afflictions, evils'

all from me, all the afflictions derived from me, i.e. those of his descendants

739 *redound*, in the literal sense 'flow back' (Lat. *redundare*) The metaphor is changed in the next line ("light") Some editions misprint *rebound*

740, 741. *light Heavy*, alight and weigh heavy

"These curses, though lighting on him their centre, will weigh heavy, though according to the laws of physics they should not weigh anything there, the weight of bodies being only their tendency to the centre"—*Keightley*

743. *Isaiah* xlv. 9

746. *delicious*, several times an epithet of Paradise—IV 132, 729, VII 537

747 *being*, creation

748. *equal*, fair (Lat *æquus*). *reduce*, in the literal sense 'to bring back' (Lat. *reducere*), i.e. to the dust of which Adam was made.

756, 757 *then when*, with M a favourite (and emphatic) turn of words, cf. IV 970, "Then, when I am thy captive, talk of chains" So "there where"

758 *Thou didst*, addressing himself, not his Maker, as in 743—755

762 *Isaiah* xlv 10

766 *of his own*, with the gifts which he had himself bestowed on you

773 *this day*, more correctly "*that day*"—cf 49, 210, since the time of the action of this book is the day after Adam's sin Cf the time references in 329 ("the sun rose") and 342 ("by night")

777 *Insensible*, emphatic from its position.

778 *As in my mother's lap*, a curious expression from Adam's lips

783 *all*, entirely, cf Horace's *non omnis moriar*—*Odes*, III 30, 6 (said, however, in a different connection, viz in reference to the immortality conferred by his poetry)

784, 785 *Genesis* II 7. *inspired*, in the literal sense 'breathed'

788 *a living death*, a proverbial phrase, cf *S A* 100, "To live a life half dead, a living death" So in *Richard III* I. 2 153, *Lucretia*, 726

789 *why?* why should it be true?

789—792 The spirit, Adam is made to argue, constitutes life (cf. "pure breath of life") and the spirit alone "sinned": the body is mere "dust," a "clod," and as such "properly hath neither" life nor sin therefore "death," as the annihilation of life and punishment of sin, must mean the death of the spirit. So the "end" (797) will be not merely the dissolution of the mortal body into its dust but annihilation of the whole being—"all of me shall die"

The subject is discussed in the *Christian Doctrine*, I XIII

793 *reach*, power of comprehension.

795 *not so*, not "infinite"

798—801 Cf the *Christian Doctrine*, I II, where, treating of the "omnipotence" of the Almighty, he says, "It must be remembered that the power of God is not exerted in things which imply a contradiction", he quotes 2 *Timothy* II 13, *Hebrews* VI 18 See *P W.* IV 25, 26 It was a doctrine on which mediæval theologians dwelt.

800 *argument*, proof, cf "argue"=show, prove, 1014

805 *beyond dust*, i e after death

806—808 *all causes else* "All other agents act in proportion to the *reception* or capacity of the subject-matter, and not to the utmost extent of their own power ['sphere'] An allusion to the axiom *omne efficiens agit secundum vires recipientis, non suas.*"—*Newton* So, Adam argues, he cannot be punished after death because death is the utmost punishment that he has the capacity to suffer with death that capacity ends

810 *Bereaving sense*, cf "Insensible," 777

812 *without*, outside, cf *Macbeth*, III I 47, "They are, my lord, without the palace gate"

816 *Am*, attracted to the nearer and, in Adam's view, more important subject "I"

826, 827 *the same With*, i e that which is corrupt like himself

832 *me, me* Cf 936 and Vergil's line *me, me, adsum, qui feci, in me convertite ferrum*—*Æneid* IX 427

834 *Fond*, foolish, see G

840 *past example*, i e "of the fallen Angels"—*Newton*

841 *like*, i e like in (or 'as to') crime

858 *Death comes not at all* Cf XI 491—493, a picture of Death "delaying to strike, though oft invoked" See also Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 797, 798, and Horace, *Odes*, II 18 38—40

858, 859 Newton compares Horace's *pæda Pana claudo*—*Odes*, III 2 32 *Mends*, quickens *for*, because of

861, 862 *other other*, a favourite form of emphasis with M Cf *Comus*, 612, 613

"Far other arms and other weapons must

Be those that quell the might of hellish charms",

and *Lycidas*, 174, 175

"Where, other groves and other streams along,

With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves"

song, cf "their vocal worship," IX 198 (with note)

866 *regard*, look, cf F *regard*.

869 *wants*, cf "need" used intransitively, 80

871. *fraud*, deceit

872, 873 *pretendit*. 'To, literally 'stretched before,' Lat *prætentus*, hence 'serving as a screen to, masking'

874 *persisted*, remained

883 *unperished*, the subject "I" is easily supplied from 880

886 *sinister*, used quibblingly in its literal sense 'left'—a reference to the tradition that the rib out of which Eve was fashioned was taken from Adam's left side (viii 465, note)—and also in the figurative sense 'unlucky.'

Scan *sinister*, as in *Henry V* II 4 85, "'Tis no sinister nor no awkward chum" This accentuation survived at least as late as Dryden, cf *The Hind and the Panther*, III. 492, "In which sinister destinies ordain" In M, as in Shakespeare and Elizabethan writers generally, many words bear the original Latin (and French) accent which later has yielded to the Teutonic tendency to shift the accent on to an earlier syllable, cf *asphalt*, 454

887, 888 It was an old belief that Adam as created had thirteen ribs on the left side and that Eve was formed out of the extra one

888—898 Editors cite similar passages from other poets, in particular a close parallel from Milton's favourite writer Euripides, viz. *Hippolytus*, 616 *et seq*

898—906 The passage is like a commentary on the proverbial line, "The course of true love never did run smooth," *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I 1 134 That M when he wrote the lines was thinking of the circumstances of his own first marriage cannot be doubted

904—906 A personal allusion appears to be intended Edward Phillips, the poet's nephew and one of his biographers, states that after Milton's first wife refused to live with him he paid much attention to a Miss Davis (possibly the lady addressed in his 9th Sonnet); so that "too late" represented his own experience Probably "already linked and wedlock-bound" refers to "he," and "fell adversary" to his wife, now a source of "hate or shame" to him, but the sense might be that the man meets "his happiest choice" after *she* is "linked" to his enemy, which state of things occasions him "hate or shame"

921 *forlorn of*, forsaken by, cf Tennyson's *Ænone*.

"Hither came at noon

Mournful Ænone, wandering forlorn

Of Paris"

923 *scarce one short hour*, in her grief she, as did Adam (771—775, 852—859), forgets the words of their Judge (193—205), which clearly

showed that "the instant stroke of death" was "removed far off" (210, 211) Adam now sees differently (962, 963)

937—946 Probably Milton's reconciliation with his own wife was present to his thoughts, see p. xiv and cf *S. A.* 1003—1007

"Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange power,
After offence returning, to regain
Love once possessed, nor can be easily
Repulsed, without much inward passion felt,
And secret sting of amorous remorse"

959 *elsewhere*, at "the place" (cf 932, 953, 1098, 1099), where their Judge appeared to them and pronounced their sentence, or perhaps he means 'in Heaven'

960 *offices*, kind acts, services (Lat *officia*)

969 *event*, issue, result

978 *As in our evils*, considering that we are in such evils, Lat *ut* Richardson aptly quotes from Cicero's letters *Ad familiares* XII 2, *non nihil, ut in tantis malis, est profectum*. Cf ix 1091

979 *descent*, abstract for concrete, 'descendants'

987 *prevent*, anticipate, forestall, see G

989 In the early editions the words "so Death" were placed at the beginning of 990—doubtless in error, since there is no other instance in the poem of a short line (as 989 would be without the two words) or of an Alexandrine

996 *the present object*, the object of your love who is present

998 *less than none*, equal to any

1000 *make short*, i.e. 'make short work of it,' as we say

1004—1006 *and have* 'Though we have the power, through choosing the quickest of the many ways of dying, to destroy destruction (i.e. Death's future work of destroying mankind) by destroying ourselves'

1009 *entertained*, conceived *pale*, adj = noun, see ix 606, note, and cf iv 115

1014 *argue*, show the existence of

1032—1035 Contrast 169—173 (with notes)

1045 *Reluctance*, struggling

1046—1048 Cf. 96, "the mild Judge", and 1094—1096

1048, 1049 *we expected* Cf 852—859, 923

1053, 1054 He means that the curse in 198—208 applied more to the ground than to himself, so he says quibblingly that it 'glanced' off him and 'fell to the ground,' e.g. like an arrow that just grazes the object aimed at

1065. *this mountain*, see note on 18 71

1066 *shattering* Cf *Lycidas*, 5, "Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year"

leaves Cf Lat *comæ* with its two senses, 'hair' and 'foliage' See Horace, *Odes* IV 7 2 (*arboribusque comæ*)

1067 *which*, i.e. the fact that "the winds blow moist and keen"

1068 *shroud*, shelter, see G

1069 *this star*, the sun, 'the day star' (cf "diurnal"), as it was sometimes called in contrast to the other heavenly bodies Cf *Lycidas*, 168, and Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, "While the bright day star rides his glorious round," Grosart's ed I 143 (But commonly 'day-star' meant the morning-star, Lucifer)

1070 *I see*, i.e. to see how, understood from "to seek," 1067

1071 *serē*, dry, see G *foment*, keep warm M uses the word in allusion to its (ultimate) derivation from Lat *fovere*, 'to warm', cf Lat *fomes*, 'under, touchwood'

They are to try to reflect the sun's rays in some mirror like substance so as to kindle dry leaves and grasses, etc

1072, 1073 "He seems to suppose that in the collision of two bodies, as two flints or a flint and steel, it is the air that yields the fire"
—*Keightley* *attrite*, worn by friction, Lat *attritus*

1073 *late*, lately, referring to the changes in the elements described in 651 *et seq*, cf especially 666, 667, 701—706

1075 *Tine*, kindle, see G *thwart*, flashing across the sky Probably he alludes to one of the theories as to the origin of fire on earth which Lucretius gives, V 1091—1094, viz. that it came through the thunderbolt and lightning

1078 *supply*, i.e. the place of the sun

1081 *praying*, conditional *of grace*, for mercy, pardon

1085 *native home*, cf 206—208

1087 *prostrate fall* It is curious that the next book begins

"Thus they in lowliest plight repentant stood

Prying"

1091 *Frequenting*, filling (Lat *frequentare*) Cf 'frequent'=crowded (*frequens*), I 797, 'frequency'=full assembly (*frequentia*), *P R* I 128, II 130

1098—1104 For a similar instance of repetition (a figure imitated from the classics) cf IV 641—656, *Comus*, 221—224

APPENDIX.

A.

THE COSMOLOGY OF *PARADISE LOST*

PARTS of *Paradise Lost* are not easily understood without some knowledge of Milton's conception of the Universe. I shall attempt therefore to set forth some of the main aspects of his cosmology, to explain, in fact, what he means by constantly recurrent terms such as 'Empyrean,' 'Chaos,' 'Spheres,' and the like.

It is in Book v that he carries us back farthest in respect of time. The events described by Raphael (from line 563, onwards) precede not only the Creation of the World, but also the ^{space derived} expulsion of the rebels from Heaven. And at this era, when the seeds of discord are being sown, we hear of two divisions of ^{Heaven,} Space—Heaven and Chaos (v 577, 578) Heaven lying ^{Chaos,} above Chaos.

In Book vi the contest foreshadowed in Book v has begun. Now a third region is mentioned—Hell (vi 53—55) a gloomy ^{and Hell} region carved out of the nethermost depths of Chaos. Its remoteness from Heaven may be inferred from i 73, 74. Milton's working hypothesis, then—his general conception of space and its partitionment prior to the Creation—may be expressed roughly thus: above¹, Heaven, beneath, Hell, between, a great gulf, Chaos.

Let us see what he has to say concerning each.

Heaven, or the Empyrean², is the abode of the Deity and His angelic subjects. It is a vast region, but not infinite. ^{Description of} In v 380 Milton speaks of its "empyrean bounds"; ^{Heaven} in ii. 1049 of its "battlements", in vi 860 of its "crystal wall"

¹ i.e. from the point of view of this World, the position of which we shall see

² The terms are synonymous. *Empyrean* = Lat. *empyreus* from Grk. *ἐμπερος*. The notion was that the Empyrean was formed of the element of fire (πῦρ).

³ Cf. Lucretius' *flammaria mania mundi* (i 74) and Gray's "flaming bounds of Space" (*Progress of Poesy*).

These fence Heaven in from Chaos When Satan voyages through space, in quest of the new-created World, he lens far off the crystal line of light that radiates from the empyreal bulwarks, marking where runs the severance betwixt Heaven and Chaos (II 1034 *et seq*) In the wall of Heaven are the "everlasting doors" opening on to Chaos (V. 253—256, VII 205—209) The shape of Heaven Milton does not determine (II 1048); perhaps it is a square (X 381) Its internal configuration and appearance he describes in language which reminds us of some lines (574—576) in Book V May not the Earth, says Raphael, be "but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein Each to other like, more than on Earth is thought"? Milton expands this idea, and developing to the utmost the symbolical, objective presentment of the New Jerusalem in the *Revelation*, depicts a Heaven scarce distinguishable from an ideal Earth¹. In fact, his Heaven and his Garden of Eden have much in common, so that Satan exclaims, "O Earth, how like to Heaven!" (IX 99) Thus the Heavenly landscape (if I may describe it in Miltonic language) has its vales, wood-covered heights and plains (VI 70, 640—646); it is watered by living streams (V. 652); and fair with trees and flowers²—immortal amaranth and celestial roses (III 353—364), and vines (V 635) Daylight and twilight are known there (V 627—629, 645, VI 2—15) And soft winds fan the angels as they sleep (V 654, 655)

These angelic beings, divided, according to tradition (see p 149), into nine Orders, each with particular duties, perform their ministries and solemn rites (VII 149) in the courts of God (V 650) and at the high temple of Heaven (VII 148) Their worship is offered under forms which recall, now the ritual of the Temple-services of Israel, now the inspired visions of St John They celebrate the Deity who dwells invisible, throned inaccessible (III 377) on the holy mount (VI 5), howbeit omnipresent, as omnipotent, throughout Heaven and all space round whose throne there rests a radiance of excessive brightness, at which even Seraphim, highest of Hierarchies, veil their eyes (III 375—382)

It has been objected that Milton's picture is too material But he himself takes special pains to remind us that the external imagery under which he represents his concepts is symbolical, not literal—

¹ The Earth deteriorates after the fall of man (X 651 *et seq*)

² This is a descriptive detail most conspicuous in early Christian apocalyptic works, see next page

adopted merely as a means of conveying *some* impression of that which is intrinsically indescribable. The truth, I believe, is that he has applied to Heaven the descriptions of 'Paradise' in the apocalyptic literature of the first centuries of Christianity. The *Revelation of Peter* (dating perhaps from early in the second century A.D.) affords an illustration of these descriptions. St Peter is represented as asking our Lord where are the souls of the righteous dead—"of what sort is the world wherein they are and possess glory? And the Lord shewed him [me] a very great space outside this world shining excessively with light, and the air that was there illuminated with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers, and full of spices and fair-flowering plants, incorruptible and bearing a blessed fruit and so strong was the perfume that it was borne even to us¹ from thence. And the dwellers in that place were clad in the raiment of angels of light, and their raiment was like their land and angels encircled them²."

*His picture of
Heaven tradi-
tional*

The second region, for which Chaos seems the simplest title, is also variously called "the wasteful Deep" (II 961, VI 862), "the utter Deep" (VI 716), and "the Abyss" (I 21, VII 211, 234). Here rules the god of Chaos and his consort Night (II 959-963). According to the long description in Book II. 890 *et seq.*, this region is an illimitable ocean, composed of the embryon atoms whereof all substances may be formed—whereof Hell and the World are afterwards formed. It is a vast agglomeration of matter in its primal state, "neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire." Here prevails eternal anarchy of storm and wind and wave and stunning sounds. In VII 210-214 the Messiah and His host stand at the open gate of Heaven and look forth on to Chaos, and what they behold is an Abyss "Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild."

¹ i.e. St Peter and the other disciples who are with our Lord on the Mount of Olives. See *The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter* (Cambridge University Press ed., 1892, pp. 48, 49).

² Mr James (whose version I have just quoted) gives a similar passage from a rather later work, the *History of Barlaam and Josaphat*, wherein the Paradise of the just is revealed in a vision as "a plain of vast extent, flourishing with fair and very sweet-smelling flowers, where he saw plants of all manner of kinds, loaded with strange and wondrous fruits, most pleasant to the eye and desirable to touch. And the leaves of the trees made clear music to a soft breeze and sent forth a delicate fragrance, whereof none could tire. And through this wondrous and vast plain [he passed] to a city which gleamed with an unspeakable brightness and had its walls of translucent gold, and its battlements of stones the like of which none has ever seen. And a light from above filled all the streets thereof and certain winged hosts each to itself a light, abode there singing in melodies never heard by mortal ears."

The creation of Hell, we may perhaps assume, just precedes the *Description of* fall of the angels¹. It has been prepared for their punishment when, after the proclamation in v 600—615, they have revealed their rebellious spirit. To form Hell a part of the abyss has been taken. In II 1002 Chaos complains that his realm has been encroached upon by Hell—"stretching far and wide beneath." Round it runs a wall of fire (I 61), overhead spreads a fiery vault or cope (I 298, 345). At the descent of the angels Hell lies open to receive them (VI 53—55), then the roof closes (VI 875), and they are prisoners. Henceforth the only outlet from Hell into Chaos is through certain gates, the charge whereof is assigned to Sin (II 643 *et seq.*). At her side, as protector, stands Death, ready with his dart to meet all comers (II 853—855). To please Satan (her sire), Sin opens the gates. Afterwards she cannot shut them, and all who will may pass to and fro between Hell and Chaos. Later on (when the bridge from Hell has been made) this change becomes terribly significant. For the inside of Hell, we hear of a pool of fire (I 52, 221), dry land that burns like fire (I 227—229), and drear regions of excessive cold and heat, intersected by rivers (II 575 *et seq.*). Here again the picture is traditional, owing, no doubt, much to Dante, who in turn owed much to the apocalyptic descriptions before mentioned.

Immediately after the expulsion of Satan the World is created (*Description of* VII 131 *et seq.*). By "the World" is meant the whole Universe of Earth, seas, stellar bodies and the framework wherein they are set—in short, all that the eye of man beholds. The Son of God goes forth into the abyss (VII 218 *et seq.*), and with golden compass marks out the limits of this World, so that Chaos is again despoiled of part of his realm (as he laments in II 1001—1006). The new World is a globe or hollow sphere, suspended in the abyss, and at its topmost point fastened by a golden chain (see II 1051, note) to Heaven. In II 1004—1006 Chaos tells Satan of this Universe.

"Another world,

Hung o'er my realm, linked in a golden chain

To that side Heaven from whence your legions fell"

The length of this chain, i.e. the distance of the World from the

¹ Cf. the English *Faust book* (1592) where Faustus asks when Hell was made and Mephistophiles replies—"Faustus, thou shalt know, that before the fall of my lord Lucifer was no hell, but even then was hell ordained" (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III 185).

Empyrean, is not stated, I believe, but the distance was not—comparatively—very great (II 1051—1053, VII 618)

Also, between the globe (again, on its upper side, i.e. that nearest to the Empyrean) and the gate of Heaven there stretches a golden stair, used by good angels for descent and ascent when they are despatched to Earth on any duty such as that which Raphael discharges in Books V—VIII. This stair (suggested by Jacob's dream?) is not always let down (III 501—518) And hard by the point where the golden stair touches the surface of the globe there is—in later times, after the fall of man—another stair (or rather bridge), which leads, not upward to the Empyrean, but downward to Hell i.e. it extends over the portion of Chaos that intervenes between Hell and the World (II 1024—1033, L. 282 *et seq.*) This bridge¹, the work of Sin and Death, is used by evil angels when they would come from Hell (its gates being open) to Earth—"to tempt or punish mortals" (II 1032)

*Joined to
Heaven*

*Joined to
Hell*

Hence a good angel and an evil, visiting mankind simultaneously, the one descending the golden stair, the other ascending the bridge, will meet at this point of the surface of the globe. And to enter the globe, i.e. to get through its outer surface to the inside, each must pass through the same aperture in the surface, and descend by the same passage into the interior: as Milton explains in Book III. There he describes how Satan journeys through Chaos, till he reaches and walks² on the outer surface of the World (III 418—430). But how to pass to the interior? The surface is impenetrable, and there seems to be no inlet. Then suddenly the reflection of the golden stair which chanced to be let down directs his steps to the point where the stair and the bridge come into contact with the globe, and here he finds what he seeks—an aperture in the surface by which he can look down into the interior. Further, there is at this aperture a broad passage plunging right down into the World—being, really, a continuation of the golden stair. Thus Satan, standing on the bottom step of the stair, and looking straight up, sees overhead

*The entrance
into the World*

¹ In the English *Faust* book, 1592 (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III 194) Mephistophiles says: "We have also with us in hell a ladder, reaching of exceeding height, as though the top of the same would touch the heaven, to which the damned ascend to seek the blessing of God, but through their infidelity, when they are at very highest degree, they fall down again into their former miseries." With the last part of this extract cf. *P. L.* III 454 *et seq.* It seems to me highly probable that Milton studied the *Faust* book (which was immensely popular), as well as Marlowe's dramatic adaptation of it, see II 596, note.

² i.e. like a fly moving up a lamp-globe (Masson).

the gate of Heaven, and, looking straight down, sees the interior of the globe, leagues beneath (III 526 *et seq*)

Similarly on the seventh day of the Creation the angels, gazing from Heaven's gate down the stair and down the broad passage which continues the stair, see, as Satan did, into the new-made World (VII. 617—619)

“not far, founded in view

On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea¹”

In short, at the point in the surface of the globe nearest to the Empyrean, there is a choice of ways the stair leading to Heaven, the bridge to Hell, and the broad passage to the interior of the World

“in little space

The confines met of empyrean Heaven,

And of this World, and, on the left hand, Hell

With long reach interposed, three several ways,

In sight, to each of these three places led²”

And descending the broad passage what would an angel find in the interior of the globe? What is this globe as Milton, following the astronomy of his³ time, has described it?

The globe as then conceived may best be likened (in Plato's comparison⁴) to one of those puzzles or boxes in which

*The globe of
the World its
interior*

are contained a number of boxes of gradually lessening size remove the first, and you shall find another inside,

rather smaller remove the second, and you shall come

on a third, still smaller and so on, till you reach the centre—the kernel, as it were, round which the different boxes were but successive shells Now, of the globe of the World the Earth (they said) is the kernel (it is often called ‘the centre⁵’), and—a sta-

*Milton's
astronomy*

tionary body itself—it is encased by numerous shells or

Spheres the number of the Spheres being a subject of dispute and varying in the different astronomical sys-

tems Milton, accepting⁶ for the purposes of his epic the Ptolemaic

¹ i.e. the Crystalline Sphere

² x 320—324

³ I do not mean to imply that the Ptolemaic system was still generally believed in at the time when *P L* was published, but that it satisfied Elizabethan writers, of whom Milton was the last

⁴ See the Myth of Er in the *Republic* 616, 617, and the note on *Arcades* 64 (Pitt Press ed p 59), where the passage is translated

⁵ Cf perhaps i 686, and the *Winter's Tale*, II x 102, *Troilus*, I 3 85

⁶ He was evidently familiar with the Copernican system (cf IV 592—597, VIII 15—178), and the question has been asked why he did not follow it in the poem The answer surely is obvious The Copernican theory was new, without a scrap of literary association and with no poetic terminology whereas the Ptolemaic view and

system as expanded by the astronomer Alphonsus X. of Castille, recognizes ten Spheres. A Sphere, it should be noted, is merely a circular region of space—not necessarily of solid matter. Indeed, of the ten Spheres only one, the Primum Mobile, appears in Milton's description to consist of some material substance. Seven of them are the Spheres of the planets, i.e. the orbits in which the planets severally move.

The order of the Spheres, which fit one within the other¹, is, if we start from the Earth as the stationary centre² of the Universe, as follows: first, the Spheres of the planets *The Spheres* successively—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, then, outside the last of these (i.e. Saturn), the Firmament or Cælum Stellatum, in which are set the 'fixed stars', then, outside the Firmament, the Crystalline Sphere, and last, the Primum Mobile enclosing all the others. Compare the famous lines (481—483) in Book III describing the passage of the souls of the departed from Earth to Heaven.

"They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed,
And that Crystalline Sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talked, and that First Moved."

It remains to note three or four points in these lines. Milton treats the Sun and Moon as planets (v 177, x 651—658). Compare Shakespeare, *Troilus*, I 3 89, "the glorious planet Sol," and *Antony*, v 2 241, "the fleeting Moon no planet is of mine." The 'fixed stars' are referred to four times in the poem—but only once (v 176) with the word 'star' added. In the other places (III 481, v 621, x 661) they are called simply "the fixed." Though they are unmoved, their Sphere revolves round the Earth, moving from East to West, completing a revolution in twenty-four hours, and carrying with it the seven inner Spheres³. The rapid motion of this Sphere is glanced at in v 176 ("their orb⁴ that flies"). The Crystalline Sphere and the Primum Mobile were not included in the original Ptolemaic system. They

its delightful fictions as to the Spheres, their harmonies, and the like, had become a tradition of literature, expressed in terms that recalled Marlowe and Shakespeare and Jonson and the *sacri vates* of English verse. To have surrendered this poetic heritage merely out of deference to science had been impossible pedantry—a perverse concession to the cold philosophy that "empties the haunted air and unweaves the rainbow" (*Lamia*).

¹ Cf. Marlowe's *Faustus* vi 38, 39.

"As are the elements, such are the spheres,
Mutually folded in each other's orb."

² Cf. viii 32 "the sedentary Earth" and see ix. 107—109.

³ These have separate motions of their own.

⁴ 'Orb' and 'Sphere' are interchangeable terms—when it suits Milton.

were added later, to explain certain phenomena which the earlier astronomers had not observed, and for which their theories offered no explanation. Thus the supposed swaying or "trepidation" of the Crystalline Sphere was held to be the cause of the precession of the equinoxes. This Sphere is described as a vast expanse of waters (see note on VII. 261). It encircles the eight inner Spheres. The original notion may perhaps be traced to the waters "above the firmament" in *Genesis* i. 7. Compare the picture in VII. 270—271 of the World.

"Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide

- Crystalline ocean "

The main purpose that this "ocean" serves is to protect the Earth from the evil "influences" of Chaos, those "fierce extremes" of temperature which might penetrate through the outside shell (the Primum Mobile) and "distemper" the whole fabric of the Universe, did not this wall of waters interpose (VII. 271—273).

Last comes the Primum Mobile¹, "the first² convex" of the World, i. e. the outside case of our box or puzzle. It is made, as we saw, of hard matter, but for its crust of substance, Chaos would break in on the World, and Darkness make inroads (III. 419—421). The first moved itself, it communicates motion to the nine inner Spheres. In Elizabethan literature allusions to it are not infrequent: we will conclude by giving three. Compare Spenser, *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*

"these heavens still by degrees arise,
Until they come to their first Movers bound,
That in his mightie compasse doth comprize,
And carry all the rest with him around",

and Marlowe, *Faustus*³

"He views the clouds, and planets, and the stars,
The tropic zones, and quarters of the sky,
From the bright circle of the horned moon
Even to the height of Primum Mobile",

and Bacon, *Of Seditions and Troubles*. "for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under Primum Mobile."

¹ Dante's *primo giro* (*Purgatorio*, i. 15)

² III. 419. To Satan coming from Chaos it is the first, in our calculation, as we started from the Earth, it is the last.

³ Scene VI *chorus*, ll. 5—18, in the third Quarto, 1616, the passage is not in the two earlier editions of 1604 and 1609 (Ward, p. 178).

B

ON THE CHARACTER OF MILTON'S SATAN.

I have reserved for this *Appendix* notice of some points in Milton's delineation of the character of Satan. First, as to the rank which Milton assigns to him before his revolt, and the cause of that revolt. Milton speaks of Satan as an archangel¹— *Satan's rank in Heaven* "if not the first archangel" (v. 660) that is, he is inclined to give Satan preeminence over all angelic beings. But this preeminence is not emphasised so much as we might have expected.

The immediate cause of the rebellion in Heaven is the proclamation that all should worship the Messiah as their Head (v. 600—615). Satan resents the command, conceiving himself "impaired" (v. 665) thereby, and he makes its pretended injustice *The motive of his revolt* a means of drawing away a third part of the angels from their allegiance. They are equal, he says, to the Messiah self-begotten, not created, not liable to pay worship, and so, playing on their pride, he wins them to his side (v. 772—802, 853—866). Meantime, in his own heart an even stronger motive is at work, to wit, ambition to be himself equal to the Deity—nay, superior. He not only disclaims submission to the Son, he strives "against the throne and monarchy" (l. 42) of the Almighty Himself, and it is as the foe rather of the Father than of the Son that the great archangel is set before us in *Paradise Lost*.

Touching both matters there was much tradition, whereof it may be interesting to cite two or three illustrations from popular works² with which Milton is likely to have been familiar. *Popular beliefs concerning Satan* To take, for example, the English *Faust-book*. Faustus asks "But how came lord and master Lucifer³ to have so great a fall from Heaven? Mephistophiles answered, My lord Lucifer

¹ Contrast the first extract from the *Faust book*, later on.

² I choose three works each of which may, I think, be regarded as a *résumé* of many of the current traditions of demonology. Two of the books—the *Faust book*, 1592, and Scot's *Discourse*, 1584—were extremely popular, and personally I believe that Milton had studied both. Scot devotes several chapters to "Lucifer and his fall." The third work—Heywood's *Hierarchy*, 1635—is very serviceable to an editor of *Paradise Lost*.

³ A common name of Satan.

was a fair angel, created of God as immortal, and being placed in the Seraphims¹, which are above the Cherubims, he would have presumed upon the Throne of God upon this presumption the Lord cast him down headlong, and where (i.e. whereas) before he was an angel of light, now dwells in darkness². Later on Milton returns to the subject, enquiring "in what estimation his lord Lucifer was, when he was in favour with God" also touching his form and shape to which Meplustophiles replies, "My lord Lucifer was at the first an angel of God, yet he was so of God adorned for shape, pomp, authority, worthiness, and dwelling, that he far exceeded all the other creatures of God, and so illuminated that he far surpassed the brightness of the sun, and all the stars but when he began to be high minded, proud and so presumptuous, that he would usurp the seat of God's Majesty, then was he banished³."

The *First Book*, it will be seen, agrees with Milton on both points, while, as regards one of them—Satan's rank—it is more explicit than in *Hyperborea's Paradise Lost*. Equally explicit is Heywood's *Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels* (1634). There (p. 336) we read that of the angels Lucifer was first created and chief

"As he might challenge a priority
In his Creation, so above the rest
A supereminence, as first and best"

Heywood mentions Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, and adds (p. 337) that great as they were,

"Yet above these was Lucifer instated,
Honor'd, exalted, and much celebrated"

Reginald Scot goes even further, remarking⁴ that according to the teaching of some divines Satan even after his fall exceeded in power any of the angelic host. It seems to me therefore something strange that Milton did not unequivocally invest Satan with superiority over all the angels

As to Satan's motive Heywood⁵ differs from Milton, making jealousy of mankind the cause, while Scot writes⁶ "Our schoolmen differ much in the cause of *Lucifer's* fall [some alleging one thing, some another, while] others saie, that his condemnation grew hereupon, for that he

¹ The highest of the Hierarchies, see v. 587. We may note the forms 'Seraphims,' 'Cherubims' see G. under 'Cherubim'

² Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, 2nd ed., III. 184

³ Thoms, III. 187

⁴ Nicholson's ed. p. 425

⁵ p. 339

⁶ p. 423

challenged the place of the Messias " This accords more with *Paradise Lost* v 661—665

For Milton Satan is the type of pride The type was already fixed
As an epithet of Lucifer 'proud' had passed into a proverb Thus Gower said¹

*Satan a type of
pride in ear-
lier writers,*

"For Lucifer with him that selle

Bar pride with him into helle

There was pride of to grete cost

Whan he for pride hath heaven lost,"

and Marlowe²

"*Faust* How comes it, then, that he is prince of devils?

Meph O, by aspiring pride and insolence,

For which God threw him from the face of heaven,"

and Greene³

"proud Lucifer fell from the heavens,

Lucifer and his proud-hearted friends

Were thrown into the centre of the earth "

Milton therefore did not wholly conceive or create the character of the arch-rebel Tradition, literary no less than theolo- *in Milton*
gical, prescribed the dominant idea in that nature "

enough if Milton developed the idea in harmony with the design of his poem This he did He depicts Satan as an embodiment of the spirit of pride and ambition⁴ not the ambition which is an honourable desire of praise—that last infirmity of noble minds—but the fevered lust for power which springs from overmastering self-esteem In Satan this spirit of egotism is the poison that permeates his whole being, vanquishing and vitiating all that is good in him

For at the outset of the action of *Paradise Lost* Satan has much that is noble and attractive in his nature To have made him wholly evil had repelled, and lessened the interest of the poem, which turns, in no slight degree, on the struggle between the good and evil elements in him Indeed, this very pride is not without its good aspect. Herein lies the motive power that nerves him at every crisis to face insuperable difficulties, to cherish immortal hope—though hope of revenge, and to adventure "high attempts "

*Complexity of
Satan's cha-
racter*

¹ *Confessio Amantis*, book 1

² *Faustus* III 67—69

³ *Friar Bacon* ix 39, 65, 66

⁴ Cf SATAN'S own words in IV 40

On the other hand, it is this same spirit that drives him onward to his final fall. If at any moment he is minded to repent and submit—through pity for the friends whom he has ruined, or mankind whom he schemes to ruin, or himself—through sense of his ingratitude (IV 42—45) towards the Almighty—whatever the motive—relentless, resistless egotism sweeps aside compunction, and denies him retreat. To sue for grace were to humble himself in the eyes of his followers and in his own which must not be (IV 79—83)

Steadily does Milton keep this idea before us. There is no possibility of missing or mistaking his intention. The very word 'pride' recurs¹ like some persistent refrain, ringing clearest at the great crises, the fateful moments when the action of the epic enters on a fresh stage—as when in the fourth Book (ll 27 *et seq*) Satan looks down upon Eden from his resting-place on mount Niphates, and a brief while is inclined to give up his attempt and seek re-admission into Heaven, or as when in the ninth Book (ll 455—472) he sees Eve in the Garden and is touched by her beauty and innocence, and disarmed of his ill thoughts. Always, however, the end is the same—"the hot hell" of pride in his heart breaks anew into flame, and he goes forward to his work². Had not pride led him to undertake it?

Satan's resolve to compass the fall of man is prompted by several feelings—each a phase of self-esteem. There is jealousy. Man has usurped his place—dispossessed him and his followers. At sight of Adam and Eve he exclaims (IV 359—360)

"Into our room of bliss thus high advanced
Creatures of other mould, earth born perhaps!"

The same feeling finds expression in almost the same words later on (IX 148, 149). That others should receive favour from the Almighty—and, as he thinks, at his expense—wounds his pride.

Again, there is desire to assert his supremacy by undertaking an office from which the mightiest of his followers recoil in fear. Nowhere does Satan stand forth so eminent and sublime "with monarchical pride" as in the scene in the second Book where he proffers himself for the great enterprise. The counsel of Beelzebub has been applauded by all (ll 386—389) but who will carry it out? None dare and then

¹ Cf I 36, 58, 527, 572 603—with many other examples

² Cf Mr Stopford Brooke's admirable *Study of Milton*, p 148

Satan, proclaiming his readiness, once more confirms his sovereignty
Here too pride has ruled

But the strongest motive remains: desire

"To wreak on innocent frail man his loss

Of that first battle, and his fight to Hell!"

"To spite the great Creator" (II. 385) he will bring ruin on the earth and its inhabitants: which, if not victory, were revenge. The notion flatters his self-conceit. It is born of the old pride. And Milton dwells on it with fitting insistence¹.

Is Satan the 'hero' of *Paradise Lost*? We might think so did we not read beyond the first books. But to trace his history in the poem to its glorious close is to dispel the impression Milton can scarcely intend that we should regard as 'hero'—as worthy of sustained admiration—one who passes from the splendour of archangelic being to the state of a loathsome reptile². The hideous metamorphoses in X 504—532 is the necessary contrast to those scenes at the beginning of the epic in which the great rebel does appear in heroic grandeur and we must look on both pictures. If *Paradise Lost* narrates the fall of man, it narrates too—and no less clearly—the fall of man's temp'er. The self-degradation of Satan is complete. outward and inward of the form and of the spirit a change—ever for the worse—of shape and mind and emotion.

*Satan not the
'hero' of the
poem.*

*His self-de-
gradation and
desire*

There is the outward sign. Before his expulsion he is preeminently a lustrous being, clothed with ethereal radiance and glory—so much does his name "Lucifer" argue³. And afterwards he retains something of this "original brightness" (I. 592)—howbeit much has passed from him (I 97, 591—594). But gradually what was left decreases in proportion as the evil in him prevails. so that Uriel perceives the foul passions that dim his face (IV. 124—130), while Gabriel marks his "faded splendour wan" (IV 870), and the Cherub Zephon taunts him therewith (IV. 835—840). Equal is his loss of physical force. On the fields of Heaven he does not fear to meet Michael in combat (VI 246 *et seq*) in the Garden of Eden he doubts himself a match for Adam.

in form;

*in physical
power,*

"Foe not formidable! exempt from wound,

¹ I. 11, 12.

² Cf. VI. 905, 906.

³ Cf. his words in IX. 163—171.

⁴ Cf. VII 131—133, and the second extract from the *Faust* of Goethe, and Marlowe, "beautiful As was bright Lucifer before his fall" (*Faust* I. 155).

I not, so much hath Hell debased, and pain¹
 Unfeebled me, to what I was in Heaven "

In fact, he is glad that he has to deal with the woman—not the man (ix 480—488)

Nor this because of lost strength alone. He shuns the "higher intellectual" of Adam (ix 483), who would be better able than Eve to see through his arguments and so resist temptation. He is conscious of his own decline in intellect. The strong intelligence which inspires his speeches in the first two books has degenerated, by perverse use, into mere sophistical slyness, a base cunning—even as wine may lose its savour and turn to vinegar. He is no more the mighty minded archangel—he is naught but the serpent—"subtlest beast of all the field." Lastly, every impulse in him towards good has died out. The element of nobility that redeemed his character, at the outset from absolute baseness has been killed. In evil he moves and has his being, so that himself confesses "all good to me becomes base," and in destroying lies his sole delight (ix. 118 *et seq*)

Hardly therefore shall we believe that Milton meant us to see in the fallen and everfalling archangel the hero of *Paradise Lost*. That position surely belongs to Adam.

C

THE SUBJECT OF THE POEM

That Milton was convinced as to the "heroic" character of his subject is clear from the introduction² to book ix; nevertheless it has been disputed whether the Fall of Man was a suitable theme for a heroic poem and whether the title "heroic" should be applied to *Paradise Lost*. Thus Dryden writes in the "Discourse" on satire prefixed to his translation (1693) of Juvenal "As for Mr Milton, whom we all admire with so much justice, his subject³ is not that of an heroic poem, properly so called. His design is the losing of our happiness, his event⁴ is not prosperous, like that of all other epic works "

¹ See i 55, vi 327, notes.

² ix 13—44

³ i.e. in *Paradise Lost*

⁴ That is, the end of the action, the issue (Lat. *eventus*)

Addison refers to this objection at the commencement of his papers on Milton "I shall now," he says, "the discussion of that point, which was started some years since [i.e. by Dryden], whether Milton's 'Paradise Lost' may be called an heroic poem. Those who will not give it that title may call it (if they please) a divine poem" (*Spectator*, 267)

In his sixth paper (*Spectator*, 297) Addison considers the kinds of subject or "fable" appropriate to "heroic song," admits that a "fable," like the Fall of Man, "wherein the event is unhappy is not so proper for an heroic poem" as for a tragedy, but shows briefly that Milton was conscious of the disadvantage inherent in his subject and combated it. How Milton did so, Addison explains in the following well known passage of the last of his papers on *Paradise Lost*

"I have hinted in my sixth paper that an heroic poem, according to the opinion of the best critics, ought to end happily, and leave the mind of the reader, after having conducted it through many doubts and fears, sorrows and disquietudes, in a state of tranquillity and satisfaction. Milton's fable, which had so many other qualifications to recommend it, was deficient in this particular. It is here therefore that the poet has shewn a most exquisite judgment, as well as the finest invention, by finding out a method to supply this natural defect in his subject. Accordingly he leaves the adversity of mankind, in the last view which he gives us of him, under the lowest state of mortification and disappointment. We see him chewing ashes, grovelling in the dust, and lorden with supernumerary pains and torments. On the contrary, our first two parents are comforted by dreams and visions, cheered with promises of salvation, and in a manner raised to a greater happiness than that which they had forfeited. In short, Satan is represented miserable in the height of his triumph, and Adam triumphant in the height of his misery" (*Spectator*, 369)

Johnson's view is to somewhat similar effect. "Milton, though he entitled 'Paradise Lost' only a 'poem,' yet calls it himself 'heroic song.' Dryden denies the heroism of Adam, because he was overcome, but there is no reason why the hero should not be unfortunate, except established practice, since success and virtue do not go necessarily together. However, if success be necessary, Adam's deceiver was at last crushed, Adam was restored to his Maker's favour, and therefore may securely resume his human rank" (*Life of Milton*)

D.

THE ORDERS OF THE HEAVENLY BEINGS

According to a mediæval belief the Heavenly beings were divided into three Hierarchies, and each Hierarchy was subdivided into three Orders or Choirs. These Orders comprised the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones (*θρόνοι*), forming the first Hierarchy, Dominations (*κυριότητες*), Virtues (*δυνάμεις*), and Powers (*ἐξουσίαι*), forming the second, Principalities (*ἀρχαί*), Archangels and Angels, forming the third. This system was deduced, in the main, from St Paul's words in *Ephes* 1 21 and *Colos* 1 16. First formulated in the treatise *περὶ τῆς οὐρανίας ιεραρχίας*, which was long attributed, though falsely, to Dionysius, the Areopagite, the notion had great influence in the Middle Ages, cf Dante, *Paradiso*, xxviii 98—126. Allusions to it are frequent in Elizabethan writers. Works from which many illustrations of the system might be quoted are —*Balman vpon Bartholome* (1582), Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), Thomas Watson's *Eglogue* (1590), the *Faust book* (1592), Spenser's *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* (1596), Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, 1 28, and Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635), which deals with the subject at great length.

Milton accepted¹ the tradition and made it the basis of the whole angelical system of *Paradise Lost*.

Each of the Orders possessed some special quality. The Seraphim were the "burning" lustrous beings, cf Spenser, *Heavenly Beautie*

"those eternall burning Seraphims,
Which from their faces dart out fierie light."

This conception, due probably to the false derivation of *Seraphim* from a root signifying 'to burn,' determines Milton's choice of epithets (e.g. 'bright,' 'fiery') for this order of the Hierarchies.

¹ Thus in *Church Government* he says, "the angels themselves are distinguished into their celestial principedoms and satrapies," *P W* II 442. He several times uses the special terms "Orders" and "Hierarchies"—cf *P L* I 737, v 587, 591, vii 192, while the titles "Seraphim," "Thrones," "Dominations," "Virtues" etc occur constantly.

The Cherubim had a wondrous power of vision hence their main duty in *Paradise Lost* is to keep watch See IV 778, note And through this power of vision they enjoyed in a peculiar degree the *Visio Beatifica* or faculty of "contemplating" the Deity. In the words of the treatise *περὶ τῆς ἐκπαρχίας* they were distinguished διὰ τὸ θεωρεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ θεωρητοῦν. And this notion is the key to that line (54) in *Il Penseroso*, the point of which has been so much misunderstood—"The Cherub Contemplation"

The archangels were, as their name implied, the "chief messengers" of the Almighty and the intermediaries between him and Man. Cf. Reginald Scot, "As for archangels, they are sent onlie about great and secret matters"; and Heywood, "The Archangels are Embassadors, great matters to declare" Hence Milton makes Raphael in book V. and Michael in books XI, XII—each one of the seven archangels referred to in III. 648—653, the bearers of messages and charges from the Almighty to Adam

One other point in which Milton follows mediæval tradition with regard to the Heavenly beings may be noticed Descriptions like those in book III., ll 625—628 and 636—642, are purely traditional We must compare them with the presentment of angels in works of early Christian art. Poets and painters alike drew upon religious tradition and expressed it by certain conventional details And this presentment of angelic beings contained a considerable element of symbolism In *Batman vppon Bartholome* II III IV, there is a long discourse on the attributes which painters assign to angels and on their symbolical significance The following brief extracts from it illustrate Milton's pictures of Uriel (III 625—628) and the "stripling Cherub" (III 636—642). "When Angells are paynted with long lockes and crispe haire, thereby is understoode their cleane affections and ordinate thoughts For the haire of the head betokeneth thoughts and affections that doe spring out of the roote of thought and minde And they be painted beardless for to take consideration and heede, that they passe never the state of youth, neyther waxe feeble in vertues, neither faile for age Truly they be paynted feathered and winged [is a sign—that] they be lifted up in effect and knowledge, and rauished to the innermost contemplation of the loue of God."

E

PARADISE LOST \ 658—662

Dr Masson illustrates the astrological terms in these lines by a passage translated from "an old Latin catechism or text-book of Astronomy (Blebelius, *De Sphæra*, 1582)", it runs as follows

"What are the *aspects* of planets? They are such arrangements and distances of the planets as allow them to intercommunicate their influence. How many species of aspects are there? Five—Conjunction, Sextile, Square, Trine, and Diametral or Opposition. What is the first? The first kind of aspects, called Conjunction, is when two stars or planets are conjoined and as it were connected in one line, by the Greeks it is called *Syned*. What is the Sextile aspect? When two planets or stars are distant from each other a sixth part of the Zodiac, or two signs or 60°. What is the Square aspect (*quadratus aspectus*)? When two stars look at each other at an interval of three signs, making a quadrant or 90°. What is Trine (*Trigonus*) aspect? When the distance of the stars measures a third of the circle,—that is, 120° or four signs. What is the Diametral aspect? It is the opposite configuration of two luminaries, which are distant from each other 180° or half a circle.

How are the aspects divided? Into happy and unhappy. Which are the happy and prosperous aspects? The prosperous and benign are the Trine and Sextile. Why are they called happy? Because the rays of the planets, falling obliquely and mutually yielding, infuse and communicate to inferior bodies gentler and less violent influences. What are the unhappy aspects? The unhappy or malignant are Conjunction, Square, and Opposition¹. Why are they called malignant? Because the planets, meeting each other with their rays, mutually collide, and neither can yield to the other on account of the directness of their onset. Therefore they exercise greater force in stimulating and varying seasons, and in mixing the temperaments of animals and the qualities of the air. Whence is this variety of effects known? The effect and variety of

¹ Cf. *Richard III*, iv. 4. 215, "Lo, at their births good stars were opposite," and 702, "Pe opposite all planets of good luck."

configuration were first observed in the case of the Moon, and afterwards transferred to the other planets by artists (*artifices*) who, by great sharpness of intelligence, and more attentive observation, endeavoured to find out and display the causes of events from the very nature of the heavenly motions and the species of the aspects." Dr Massey adds, "Milton, it will be noted, names all the aspects, giving Conjunction its Greek name of *Synod* "

GLOSSARY.

MILTON'S diction is essentially Elizabethan the diction of the Authorised Version (1611) of the Bible and of Shakespeare Hence, though *Paradise Lost* was not published till 1667, its language is best illustrated by quotations from the works of Elizabethan writers

A marked feature of Milton's diction, as of his style, is his classical bias He employs in a classical sense, or with reference to their classical origin, many words derived from Greek or Latin, just as he employs classical constructions (cf IX 130, 563, 792, 795, 818, X 332, 687), and figures of speech (cf IX 648) This classicism of diction is still more conspicuous in his prose, in which he introduces numbers of long, sonorous words derived from the Latin Sometimes he invents such words These books of *Paradise Lost* contain numerous examples of his classical diction

Book IX. Cf *argument, involve, sentence, officious, obnoxious, entire, front, event, secure, voluble, spire, fraud, fluctuate, science, divine, devote, sacred, fact, certain, oblige, elegant*

See 13, 75, 88, 104, 170, 292, 330, 334, 371, 436, 502, 643, 668, 680, 845, 901, 924, 928, 953, 980, 1018

Book X Cf *moment, derive, person, sagacious, mole, inoffensive, pontifical, virtue, detriment, reduce, supplant, reluctant, complicated, station, just, sublime, redound, equal, pretend, office, reluctance, foment, attrite, frequent*

See 45, 77, 156, 281, 300, 305, 313, 372, 409, 438, 513, 515, 523, 535, 536, 739, 748, 872, 960, 1045, 1071, 1073, 1091

Abbreviations —

A S = Anglo-Saxon, i.e. English down to about the Conquest

Middle E. = Middle English, i.e. English from about the Conquest

to about 1500

Elizabethan E = the English of Shakespeare and his contemporaries (down to about 1650)

O F = Old French, i.e. till about 1600 F. = modern French.

Germ = modern German Gk = Greek

Ital = modern Italian Lat = Latin

The dates, of course, are only approximate. such divisions must be more or less arbitrary and open to criticism.

adamant, λ 318; Gk *adamas*, 'unconquerable' (from *ἀ-*, the negative prefix + *δαμάειν*, 'to tame'), which was used substantively for a 'very hard metal or stone' *Diamond* comes from the same source Cf F. *diamant*

addressed, λ 672, 'prepared, ready', cf. 2 *Henry IV* λ 4 5, "Our navy is address'd, our power [i.e. army] collected." M uses the noun *address* = 'preparation' in S. A 731, "she makes address to speak," i.e. prepares

ambrosial, used by M of that which delights the sense of smell (λ. 852) or taste Strictly, *αμβροσία*, from *ἀμβροσιος* (a lengthened form of *ἀμβροτος*, 'immortal'), meant the food of the gods.

amiable, λ 899, 'lovely', its sense in the two other passages, λ 250, VIII 484, of P L in which it occurs Cf *Psalms* λλXIV. 1, "How amiable are thy dwellings" (*Prayer-Book*) From Lat. *amicabilis*, 'friendly', not from Lat *amabilis*, 'loveable'

✓ amphispæna, λ 524, Gk *αμφίσβαινα*, 'a kind of serpent that can go either forwards or backwards' (Gk *αμφί*, 'on both sides,' + *βαίνειν*, 'to go') See the *Agamemnon*, 1206 It was supposed to have a head at either end of its body hence the allusion in Tennyson's *Queen Mary*, III 4.

"For heretic and traitor are all one;

Two vipers of one breed—in amphispæna,

Each end a sting"

animate, λ 112 In Elizabethan E the form of the past participle of a verb of Latin origin is often clipped so that it resembles the Latin form Cf *frustrate* for 'frustrated,' λ 944, *satiate*, λ 792, where *-ate* (modern E *-ated*) = Lat *-atus*, e.g. in *satiatus* So *devote* (*devotus*) for 'devoted,' λ. 901, *convict* (*convictus*) for 'convicted,' λ 83

annoy, IX 446, derived through O F *anoi*, 'vexation,' from Lat. *in odio*, used in the phrase *in odio est mihi*, 'it is odious, to me' Cognate with 'noisome' = unpleasant, especially of smell, which practically is short for 'anoisome'

✓ apparent, X 112 = 'visible, manifest' (Lat *apparens*), as in the two other places where M uses it, viz IV 608, *P R* II 397 Cf. *Richard III*, III 5 30, "apparent open guilt," and *King John*, IV. 2. 93, "It is apparent foul play"

approve, IX 367, 1140, 'to show' by bringing a thing to the test (Lat *ad*, 'to' + *proba*, 'a test') Cf 2 *Corinthians* VII 11, "In all things ye have approved yourselves to be clear in this matter"

argument, IX 13 42 = Lat *argumentum*, in the sense 'subject, theme' Cf I 24, where he describes the Fall of Man, the subject of *P L.*, as "this great argument"

asphodel, IX 1040, Gk *ἀσφόδελος*, a kind of lily, supposed to flourish especially in the Elysian fields *Daffodil* is a curious corruption of *ασφόδελος* through Low Lat *affodillus*

/ assay, X 567, 865, 'to try, attempt', M always uses this form, from O F *assai*, a variant of O F. *essai*, whence comes our commoner form *essay* Lat *exagium*, Gk *ἐξαγιον*, 'a weighing, trial of weight.' Now *assay* is commonly used of the testing of metals

astoried, IX 890, the p p of the old verb *astony*, whence *astonish* and *astound* have been formed, O F *estonner*, F *étonner*, Lat *extonare* 'to thunder' So the original notion in *astoried*, *astomshed* and *astounded* is 'struck senseless, stupefied, as with a thunder-bolt'

bases, IX 36 Cf the *Faerie Queene*, V 5 20

"She made him to be dight

In womans weedes, that is to manhood shame,

And put before his lap a napron white,

Instead of Curiets [i.e. cuirasses] and bases fit for fight"

Peele in his *Polyhymnia*, 1590 (a description of a tournament), speaks of a knight clad "In armour gilt and bases full of cost"

blanc, X 656, 'pale,' from the literal sense 'white,' F *blanc* For the form *blanc* (i.e. *blank*), obsolete as an adjective, cf the noun *blanc*, 'white paint'

blow, IX 629, 'to flower, bloom', cf *Lycidas*, 48, "When first the white thorn blows" Cognate with *bloom*, *blossom*, Germ *blühen*

brown, IX 1088, 'dark', in poetry a constant epithet of shade and twilight Cf *Il Penseroso*, 134, "shadows brown", *P R* II 293, "alleys brown," i.e. shady paths Imitated from the similar use of

bruno and *imbrunire* by Italian poets Thus in his 2nd Ital. Sonnet M has "al *imbrunir* di sera," with which editors compare Petrarch, *Canzon* 4 3, and Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata* 5 76

causey, x 415, 'a raised way', now obsolete Cf, however, *Proverbs* xv 19, "the way of the righteous is *made plain*," where the margin has "raised up as a causey" In 1 *Chronicles* xxvi 16 the Bible of 1611 had "by the *causey* of the going up," afterwards changed to *causeway*, the latter is a compound of the old word *causey*+*way* From Late Lat *calciata* (i.e. *calciata via*), literally 'a way made firm by treading with the heel' (*calx*) Not connected with *calx*, 'lime'

Cherubim, the correct form=Hebrew *Kherūbhīm*, the plural of *Kherūbh* The oldest forms in English, as still in French, were *Cherubin*, singular, and *Cherubins*, plural Cf Coverdale, "Thou God of Israel, which dwellest upon Cherubin," *Isaiah* xxxvii 16, and Wyclif, "Two Goldun Cherubyns," *Exodus* xxv 18. Later, as in the Bible of 1611, *Cherub*, singular, and *Cherubims*, plural, were used, as being closer to Hebrew For the singular M wrote 'Cherube' (a still nearer approach in sound than 'Cherub' to the *ū* of the Heb *Kherūbh*), and the true plural *Cherubim*, adopted in the Revised Version of the Bible *Kherūbh* is said to come from the Babylonian word for the figure of the winged bull which stood at the door of a house to keep off evil spirits The Jews probably owed it to the Phoenicians

coast, x 89, 'region', commonly used so in the plural, cf VIII 245, "Glad we returned up to the coasts of light" Literally 'side, border' (ix 67), F *côte*, Lat *costa*, 'a rib'

connive, x 624, Lat *connivere*, 'to close the eyes, wink,' hence figuratively 'to shut one's eyes to a fault' Now 'connive' always has the bad sense of 'winking at something wrong', but in Elizabethan E it also had the good sense 'to tolerate, be long suffering' Cf *S A* 465-467

"He [the Almighty]

Will not connive, or linger, thus provoked,

But will arise and his great name assert"

In *Of Reformation* M praises "the constancy of our nobility and commons of England, whose calm and temperate connivance could sit still and smile out the stormy bluster of men," *P W* II 406

damp, ix 45, 'to depress,' literally 'to suffocate' Cf the *Arca-pagtica*, "this had damped the glory of Italian wits," *P W* II 82 So the adjective='depressed' in I 523, "downcast and damp" See xi 293, 544

demur, 1v 558, Lat *demorari*, 'to linger, delay' hence the radical notion is 'to hesitate' Now only used in 'demur to' a thing, i.e. hesitate about agreeing to it

devote, 1v 901 = 'devoted', used by M in the sense of Lat *devotus*, 'set apart by a vow' (*votum*), especially 'set apart for destruction,' and so 'doomed' Cf 11 821, "A world devote to universal wrack" (i.e. wreck, ruin)

divan, x 457, 'a council,' properly the council of the Sultan or some Oriental sovereign or governor, Arabic *dīwān*, 'a council, tribunal' F *donane*, 'a custom-house,' comes from *dīwān*, which also meant 'a register of accounts'

draff, v 630, 'refuse food,' especially food given to swine Cf Cotgrave's *French Dictionary* (1611), "Mangeaille pour les porceux Swillings, washings, drasse" Samson was given "the draff of servile food," S A 574 Used figuratively, cf Milton's *Doctrine of Divorce*, "the brood of Belial, the draff of men," P W III 173 Cognate with *drab*, 'an untidy woman', cf *drafty* = 'dirty,' as in Hall's *Satires* v 3, "all within is drafty sluttish geere" (i.e. gear)

explode, 1 546, used = Lat *explodere*, 'to drive off the stage,' i.e. by clapping (*ex*, 'off, away' + *plaudere*, 'to clap') So in 11 669 and in the *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence*, "ceremonies and tyrannies, which God and man are now ready to *explode and hiss* out of the land," P W III 43

✓ flaw, x 698, 'a gust of wind'; a poetic word Cf *Hamlet*, v 1 239, "the winter's flaw", and Tennyson, *Marriage of Geraint*, "Like flaws in summer laying lusty corn" The same as *flaw*, 'a crack' = Swedish *flaga*, 'a crack,' also 'blast of wind' Perhaps 'sudden burst' is the radical notion

✓ foil, x 375, 'a defeat', cf the *Paraphrase on Psalm cxiv* made by M in his boyhood, "As a frunt host that hath received the foil" O F *fouler*, 'to trample under foot', cf *foule*, 'a crowd' The original notion is seen in the *Faerie Queene*, v 11 33

"Whom he did all to peeces breake, and foyle

In filthy durt, and left so in the loathely soyle"

✓ fond, x 834, 'foolish', its old sense Cf *King Lear*, iv 7 60, "I am a very foolish fond old man" Hence fondly = 'foolishly' (1x 999, 1 564) Originally *fond* was the p p of a Middle E verb *fonnen*, 'to act like a fool,' from the noun *fon*, 'a fool' The root is Scandinavian

/ forfeit, x 304, originally 'to do wrong,' then 'to lose by wrong-

doing' Low Lat *forisfactum*, 'a trespass, fine', the p p of *forisfacere*, 'to act beyond,' i.e. beyond what is right

glozo, 1x 549, 'to speak falsely, flatter' Middle L. *glosen* meant 'to make glosses, explain,' from Late Lat *glossa*, Gk γλῶσσα, which signified (1) the tongue, (2) a language, (3) a word, (4) an explanation of a word. The verb *glosen* got the idea 'to explain falsely,' whence 'to deceive' So *glozing* = 'deceptive', cf George Herbert, *The Dotage*, "False glozing pleasures" Especially used of flattering, false speech, cf *Comus*, 161, "words of glozing courtesy", III. 93, "glozing lies"

harbinger, 1x 13, 'forerunner', in *P R* 1 71, 277, John the Baptist is called the "harbinger" of Christ Originally it meant an officer who went in advance of an army or prince to make provision for the night's shelter. Cf Florio's *Dictionary*, 1598, "Foriere, a harbinger for a camp or a prince" From Icelandic *herbergi*, 'an army shelter', cf the cognate German words *heer*, 'army' + *bergen*, 'to shelter'

hainous, 1x 929, x 1, spelt *hainous* in the original edition, as often in old writers F *haineux*, 'hateful'

impress, 1x 35, 'a device, generally with motto, on a coat of arms, scutcheon, shield' Also spelt *imprese* = Ital *impresa*, 'a device, emblem', literally 'something impressed,' i.e. stamped. Cf *Richard II.* III 1 24, 25

"From my own windows torn my household coat,

Rived out my imprese, leaving me no sign";

i.e. the family coat of arms blazoned on the stained glass

influence, 1x 107, λ 662, Late Lat *influentia*, literally 'a flowing in upon' It was an astrological term applied to the power over the earth, men's characters, fortunes, etc., which was supposed to descend from the celestial bodies Cf "planetary influence," *King Lear*, I 2. 136, "the skye influences," *Measure for Measure*, III 1 9 M. generally uses *influence* with reference to this astrological notion; cf the *Nativity Ode* 71, "The stars Bending one way their precious influence"

malignant, x 662, 'injurious, hostile'; often used by Elizabethans with reference to astrology, as here Cf 1 *Henry VI* IV. 5 6, "O malignant and ill-boding stars"

maw, λ 601, 991, 'stomach', cf Germ *magen* A vulgar word applied rather to animals than men Cf Milton's *Sonnet to Cromwell*.

"Help us to save free conscience from the paw,

Of hireling wolves, whose Gospel is their maw"

✓ obvious; always used by M in one of the senses of Latin *obvius*—e.g. 'coming to meet' (v 106), or 'lying in the way' (vi 69)

✓ offal, v 633, properly 'bits that fall off', cf. the cognate Germ *abfall*, 'rubbish' Commonly used of meat unfit for human food

officious, v 104, used=Lat *officiosus*, 'obliging, serving' Cf *P R II* 302, where Siran, coming back after his first repulse, says, "officious I return," i.e. eager to serve Christ Now *officious* implies 'meddlesome, too eager to help'

✓ outrage, v 707 F *outrage*, in which *-age* is a termination The radical idea is 'a going beyond bounds'; cf. F *outré*, 'beyond,' Lat *ultra* Hence the notion 'excessive violence,' 'fury,' helped perhaps by wrong association with the noun *rage*, the word being pronounced somewhat as if it were a compound of *rage*

owe, v 1141, in its original sense 'to have, possess' Cf *Macbeth*, I 4 10, "the dearest thing he owed," and *The Tempest*, III 1 45, "the noblest grace she owed" Closely akin to *own*

plat, v 456, another form of *plot*, 'a small piece of ground' Cf *2 Kings* v 26, "and I will requite thee in this plat Now therefore take and cast him into the plat of ground" So in *Il Penseroso*, 73, "Oft, on a plat of rising ground"

✓ purchase, v 579, 'acquisition' The verb *purchase* meant first to hunt after (O F *purchaser* = F *pour* + *chasser*), "then to take in hunting, then to acquire; and then, as the commonest way of acquiring is by giving money in exchange, to buy"—*Trench* To 'acquire, gain' was a common Elizabethan sense, cf. *1 Timothy* III 13, "they that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree" (Revised Version 'gain')

✓ quarry, x 281, 'prey', a hunting-term O F *cuirce*, the intestines of a slain animal, the part given to the hounds, so called because wrapped in the skin—F *cuir*, 'a skin, hide,' from Lat *corium*, 'hide' (Skeat)

quire, v 198, the older form of *choir*, Lat *chorus* cf. O F *quer* and F *chœur* "In Quires and Places where they sing," *Prayer-Book*

✓ ravin, x 599, 'prey', cf. the *Faerie Queene*, I 11 12 (the description of the 'Old Dragon')

"his deepe devouring jawes

Wyde gaped, like the gresly mouth of hell,

Through which into his darke abysses all ravin fell"

Though O F *ravine* from Lat *rapina*, 'plunder', so that *ravin* and *rapine* are 'doublets'

sciential, ix 837, 'yielding knowledge' Ben Jonson in a compliment to James I 153, (*Masque of Blackness*).

"His light sciential is, and, past mere nature,
Can solve the rude defects of every creature."

securus, ix 371, x. 779 Elizabethan writers often use *securus* in the sense of Lat *securus*, 'free from anxiety, unconcerned', i.e. to indicate a false feeling rather than actual state of safety Cf. Fletcher's quibbling lines

"To secure yourselves from these,
Be not too secure in ease";

and M in *Eikonastes*, xviii, "With a bloody *surprise* [he] falls on our *secure* forces," P. W. 1. 442 So *securus* = 'over confidence, carelessness,' in *Macbeth*, iii. 5. 32

seneshal, ix 38, 'steward', literally 'old servant', whence the idea 'senior in standing, chief' Through O F from Gothic *sun*, 'old' + *skulz*, 'servant', cf '*arschal*,' literally 'horse servant'

sero, x. 1071, 'dry', also spelt *sar*, A S *sar*, 'dry.' Commonly said of flowers or leaves, with the sense 'faded,' 'withered,' as in *Lycidas*, 2, "ny never sero"

sower, ix 38, a servant who set the dishes on the table at a feast and removed them In *Likereclastes*, xxiv, M refers contemptuously to the chaplains of Charles I as "the servers or the yeomen-ushers of devotion," P. W. 1. 459 Connected with A S *sear*, pottage; not with any French word

shroud, x 1065 Properly *shroud*, A S. *serōd*, meant 'a garment': hence any 'shelter, covering,' as often in Elizabethan writers Cf. *Comus*, 147, "Run to your shrouds within these brules and trees" Outside Old St Paul's Cathedral in London there was a covered place called "the Shrouds," where sermons were preached in wet weather, instead of at St Paul's Cross, which was in the open

Sophi, x 433, a corruption of Arabic *safī*, 'elect, chosen,' which was a title, like the 'Caesar' of the Roman emperors, borne by each Shah or sovereign of the dynasty that ruled Persia from 1505 to 1725 In Elizabethan writers the expression 'the Sophy' (or 'Sophus') is exactly equivalent to 'the Shah' in modern English Cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, ii 1. 25, "That slew the Sophy and a Persian prince", and Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, iii 5, "the Persian Sophy's wife" Persia is called "the Sophian Empire" in Hexham's English edition (1636) of *Mercator's Atlas*, ii 411 The derivation (often given) of *Sophy* from *safī*, 'wise,' is wrong

sovrán, IX 532, 612, X 144, spelt thus always in *P. L.*, cf Ital *sovano* M has a partiality for Italianised forms cf 'harald' (I 752), Ital *araldo*, *sdein* (IV 50), Ital *sdegnare* The common form *sovereign* comes through O F *soverain*, later *souverain* Lat. *superanus*, 'chief'

✓ state, X 445, 'canopy', more often 'chair of state, canopied throne,' as in *Macbeth*, III 4. 5, "Our hostess keeps her state" Cotgrave, *French Dictionary*, 1611, explains *dais* by "A cloth of Estate, Canopie or Heauen, that stands ouer the heads of Princes thrones, also, the whole State or seat of Estate"

suggestion, IX 90, 'temptation', cf *Macbeth*, I 3 134, "why do I yield to that suggestion?" So the verb, cf *Richard II.*, III 4 75, 76

"What Eve, what *serpent*, hath *suggested* thee

To make a second fall of cursed man?"

✓ sung, X 642, 643 In Elizabethan E this incorrect form for the past tense is much used Shakespeare has *sang* only once (*Sonnet* 73), and then for the rhyme In M *sang* occurs only three times, III 383, VII 192, *Lycidas*, 186, and in each case he probably used the form for a special consideration of sound (e g in III 383, VII 192 to avoid the jingle *sung son*) Similarly he has *rung* (IV 737) as the past tense of *ring*, except in the *Nativity Ode*, 158, where the rhyme (with *clang*) requires *rang* Cf too *sprung* (VII 58, VIII 46)

targe, IX 1111, 'a shield', cf *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. 6 39, "targes undinted," i e not battered by blows Of course, *target* is a diminutive of *targe* and formerly was used = 'shield', cf *Coriolanus*, IV 5 126, *Hamlet*, II 2 334 A mark to fire at is called 'a target' from its resemblance to a round shield

thrall, X 402, a Scandinavian word, cf Icelandic, *þrall*, 'a serf' From a root meaning 'to run,' hence literally 'a runner on messages,' i e a servant The attempt to derive 'thrall' from 'thrill' because the ears of serfs were 'thrilled' or 'drilled,' i e pierced, involves a vowel-change—*i* to *a*—which cannot be admitted

tine, X 1075, 'to kindle', cf the *Faerie Queene*, III 10 13, "To quench the flames which she had tyn'd before," and Fletcher's *Apollonists*

"Oh! why should earthly lights then scorn to tine

Their lamps alone at that first sunne divine"

An obsolete verb, also spelt *tind*, cf *tinder*

tinsel, IX 36, a shining, silver-like cloth M renders the

Homeric epithet for the goddess Thetis, ἀργυρόπεζα, 'silver-footed,' by 'insel-slippered,' *Comus*, 877 F. *étincelle*, Lat *scintilla*, 'a spark.'

uncouth, A S *uncuð*—from *un*, 'not,' + *cūð*, the past participle of *cunnen*, 'to know,' (whence come *can* and *could*). In *P. L.* *uncouth* always means 'unknown, strange, unfamiliar,' with an implied notion 'alarming' or 'unpleasant' Thus the word is thrice (II. 407, 827, X 475) applied to Satan's perilous journey through the unknown Chaos The wounded Moloch experiences "uncouth pain," VI 362

/ unweeting, X 335, 916 M always uses this form, never *unwitting*; the *ee* represents the sound of the long *i* in A S. *wītan*, 'to know' *Wit* and *wise* are cognates from the same root as Gk *oīda* and *lōeiv* and Lat *videre*

usher, X 94, 'introduce' Cf IV 355, "the stars that usher evening;" which recalls Shakespeare's 132nd *Sonnet*, "Nor that full star that ushers in the even" *Usher* (F. *huusier*, Lat. *ostiarus*) meant properly a doorkeeper, then someone who went in front of any great person in a procession hence the notion 'introduce'

virtue, often (IX 110, 145, 616, 649) used by M in the sense 'efficacy, might', cf *Luke* viii 46, "virtue is gone out of me" hence virtuous = 'full of efficacy,' IX 795, 1033 Also = 'courage,' X. 372 Lat *virtus*, 'worth, manly excellence, valour' (Lat *vir*, 'man')

wanton, IX 211 The word means literally 'unrestrained' hence 'luxuriant' as used of growth Cf *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II i 99, "the quaint mazes in the wanton green." Of motion it implies 'tossing about,' e.g. like the 'undulating' coils of a serpent, (IX. 517).

I. INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES

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